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NATO Nuclear Planning Group To Meet 27 Oct

LD2710024888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2145 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Excerpt] The latest session of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group at the level of defense ministers of the bloc's member countries opens in The Hague today [27 October]. Among the documents to be discussed is one with the title: Study of Nuclear Weapon Requirements—1988. This evasive formula conceals what is in fact a catalogue of demands for new nuclear armaments for the European countries in the North Atlantic bloc. First and foremost, it deals with a new generation of nuclear weapons, which, in the words of NATO military committee spokesmen, could hit Russian territory.

To allay public alarm, it is planned to cut obsolescent nuclear ammunition—bombs, artillery shells, and warheads for the aging Lance missiles. But all these reductions are naturally being made directly dependent on the planned modernization of short-range nuclear weapons. These missiles have a range of around 300 miles and are extremely accurate. Such modernization will, of course, elicit retaliatory measures by the Warsaw Pact and thus bring to nought all the lengthy negotiations and the hard-won agreement on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles whichhas scarcely begun to be implemented. [passage omitted]

Bogachev on NATO Meeting

LD2610223288 Moscow TASS in English 2143 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 27 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev:

The question of modernizing nuclear weapons deployed on the European Continent is reported to be raised anew at the NATO Nuclear Planning Group session at the defence minister level opening in The Hague on October 27.

It has become an unamiable tradition in the NATO military quarters to respond to any headway in international relations, which scales down the level of military confrontation in Europe, by adopting measures meant to "neutralize" their positive impact. American General John Galvin, supreme allied commander in Europe, said that payment for an arms control agreement should be modernization of nuclear and conventional forces of the North Atlantic bloc.

Judging by everything, at issue in The Hague will be the moves to update the existing NATO nuclear armaments in Europe and station new weapons which will be able to cover the targets in the USSR after the United States removes 240 ground-based cruise missiles and 108 Pershing-2 missiles under the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty.

British experts presume that the number of NATO nuclear warheads to be deployed under the "compensation" programme, can exceed two-fold the number of American warheads subject to destruction under the INF Treaty. As a West German journalist put it, NATO works toward replacing the pistol at Europe's temple with a knife heaved to its heart.

One can hardly fail to agree with Oskar Fischer, foreign minister of the German Democratic Republic, who said that by modernization of and compensation for nuclear weapons NATO tries to bring naught progress which has been attained in the disarmament field in recent time.

It is curious to note that several advocates of the "modernization" of the NATO nuclear forces simultaneously put demands for a unilateral elimination of Soviet short-range armaments. So, according to them, the Soviet Union should in conditions of the approximate parity in the sides' forces scrap its systems with a range of up to 1,000 kilometers and NATO build up its similar nuclear systems. Such proposals, which run counter to the prospects opened by the INF Treaty, cause, to put it mildly, incomprehension in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union advocates a further reduction in nuclear weapons in Europe and its total elimination eventually. The USSR regards the liquidation of both side's tactical nuclear systems on the European Continent as a pressing task. To maintain the dynamics of the CSCE process and trust in Europe, Moscow suggests, to begin with, holding a meeting of the top leaders of the European states, the United States and Canada. This meeting could for sure give a good political impetus to the future talks on reducing conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe as well.

INF Verification Commission Ends Session

LD2610194288 Moscow TASS in English 1909 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Geneva October 26 TASS—The second session of the Special Verification Commission, which was instituted under the Soviet-U.S. Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, drew to an end here today.

Missile Vehicles Turned Into Road Equipment

LD2310104388 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 23 Oct 88

[Text] Military equipment retrieved after the dismantling of Soviet medium- and shorter-range missiles has found use for peaceful purposes. Our correspondent in Bryansk, west of Moscow, reports that missile delivery vehicles have begun to be applied to lay roads there. The vehicles have been purchased from the military department by a cooperative specializing in laying roads in rural areas. With the help of this powerful equipment the cooperative intends to connect remote farms with major cities and facilitate the shipment of farm produce there by next summer.

Gerasimov Holds Foreign Ministry Briefing 26 Oct

On Kohl Visit, Grenada

LD2610171888 Moscow TASS in English 1657 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—The FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl continues his visit to the Soviet Union but already now the visit can be assessed in the most positive way, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USR Foreign Ministry, said at a briefing for Soviet and foreign newsmen today.

Noting the constructive nature of the incipient dialogue, he said that the dialogue "has created all the prerequisites for passing over to a new stage in the relations between the USSR and the FRG."

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman then drew attention to the speech made by the U.S. President in Fort MacNair, timed to the fifth anniversary of the American invasion of Grenada. "Despite all American protestations," Gennadiy Gerasimov said, "the world public opinion continues to regard the invasion of Grenada as an act of naked aggression against a country whose policy was not to the liking of the United States, as a flagrant violation of the U.N. Charter and of the fundamental norms of international law." The occupation of that tiny country led to the blind alley in which, in the view of many, including Americans themselves, the policy of the U.S. Administration in Central America still finds itself, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

The assertion by a Pentagon spokesman that the possibility of Soviet trading and fishing vessels being repaired in the shipyards of the Philippines would enable the Soviet Union "to spy after the operation of the U.S. naval base in Subic Bay", can only be dismissed as invention and interference in the bilateral Soviet-Filipino relations, as another attempt to prevent their positive development, Gennadiy Gerasimov said. "What is at issue is Soviet civil vessels being repaired in the Philippines, and a relevant proposal to this effect has, incidentally, been made back in the past by the Filipino side," Gerasimov said.

Questioned about the motives behind the permission issued to Academician Sakharov to travel to the United States, Gennadiy Gerasimov reminded the newsmen that Andrey Sakharov was a member of the board of directors of the Foundation for the Survival and Development of Mankind. A USSR Council of Ministers decision guarantees the foundation's legal status in Soviet territory as one of an international independent non-governmental organisation. "That is why the provision of the USSR Council of Ministers decree of 28 August, 1986, to the effect that 'departure from the USSR of citizens on private matters shall not be allowed if they know state secrets' has nothing to do with this particular trip", the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Further on FRG Contacts, Accords

LD2610194988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1605 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, 26 Oct (TASS)—At a briefing today at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, discussed the results of the Soviet-West German talks held in the course of FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit to the Soviet Union, and enumerated the agreements signed and accords reached.

The sides have conlcuded an agreement between the USSR Government and the FRG Government on cooperation in the sphere of protection of the environment.

The first program for cultural cooperation between the USSR and the FRG for the 1988-89 period has been signed.

An agreement between the USSR Government and the FRG Government on the prompt notification of a nuclear breakdown and on the exchange of information on nuclear plants.

An agreement between the USSR Government and the FRG Government on the prevention of incidents at sea beyond the limits of territorial waters.

An agreement between the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee and the FRG Federal Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Forestry on cooperation between enterprises, firms, and organizations in the sphere of the food industry.

An agreement between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the FRG Federal Ministry for Research and Technology on scientific and technical cooperation in the sphere of research and the use of space for peaceful purpose.

The sides adopted a decision on the preparation of a joint political document which is intended to be adopted during the visit to the Federal German Republic by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

An accord was reached between the German Society for Foreign Policy and the Institute of Europe of the USSR Academy of Sciences on setting up a forum of representatives of the public.

The FRG economy is prepared to take an active part in the modernization program of the Soviet economy, in particular in the sphere of light and food industries. The

conclusion of a framework agreement between the USSR Foreign Economic Bank (Vneshsekonombank) and a consortium of FRG banks on the granting of R1 billion has created an important precondition for this. During the visit a number of contracts on the delivery of goods, on cooperation, and on the setting up of joint enterprises was signed between the partners of the two states.

At talks on the framework of the meetings of experts, progress was achieved in respect to concluding an agreement on encouraging and protecting investments. Talks will be continued with a view to completing the drawing up of an agreement before Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Bonn.

During the conversations, the idea of setting up industry and trade centers in the USSR and FRG to intensify economic relations and improve infrastructures was received with interest.

Projects were agreed on training and raising the qualifications of Soviet specialists and leading cadres of the economy in the following spheres:

—The training and the raising of qualifications of Soviet leading cadres (managers) by means of training periods at industrial enterprises and the holding of seminars to raise qualifications in the FRG;

—The training and the raising of qualifications of specialists (foremen, skilled workers), the study of the feasibility of the motor-vehicle fleet project in the Soviet Union and the training opportunities connected with it;

—Cooperation in the sphere of research into vocational education (the production of textbooks and the exchange of vocational teachers and academics in the sphere of vocational education).

The two sides agreed to enter into negotiations shortly with the aim of drawing up an agreement on establishing cultural institutes on a mutual basis.

The two sides responded with interest to and agreed to study the initiative of Professor Peter Ludwig on setting up in Moscow a museum of international contemporary art and providing it with works of art.

The Federal (?Republic made to the other) side broad proposals on the following areas of cooperation:

—Exchange of scientific staff in the framework of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) programs, including the expansion of the exchange of trainees, lecturers, scholars, and professors. Teachers of one side will give lectures in the higher educational establishments of the other side. In addition to long-term sabbaticals, opportunities will be created for short meetings by organizing trips for congresses and seminars, and for familiarization visits. The universities of both sides will be given financial and other support in establishing and expanding new partnership relations between higher educational establishments. The German Research Society and the USSR Academy of Sciences are substantially increasing their cooperation which has shown itself to good advantage;

—The Alexander von Humboldt Foundation and the USSR Academy of Sciences will award prizes to academics of the other side who are well known in their own country and internationaliy. They will be given opportunities ifor lengthy scientific training periods in the host countries;

—The Federal Government is prepared to grant books worth DM1 million in connection with the restoration of the Leningrad library of the Academy of Sciences and also for the Library of the Moscow Higher School attached to the Academy of Foreign Trade;

—Organizational and financial framework conditions for stepping up and expanding youth exchanges will be improved. This exchange must be open to young people from all spheres and sections of society. For the developemnt and coordination of youth exchange, a joint agency will be set up in whose work representatives of state and other institutions of both sides will take part;

—Partner ties between schools and the exchange of schoolchildren and teachers, first of all with a view to studying the other side's language, are to be expanded.

These proposals are being supported by the Soviet Union.

It has been agreed that regular consultations will be conducted on questions of information at the directorate chief-level of the appropriate departments once a year.

It is intended to increase before the year 1992 the edition of the magazine GUTEN TAG in Russian to a level which will be agreed on.

Both sides have approved the results of the meetings held so far of the working group on cooperation in humanitarian matters. They will continue this cooperation.

The decision has been made to hold talks with a view to returning the town archives of the town of Revel—now the town of Tallinn—and the Hanseatic archives of the towns of Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubeck to the places of their origin.

The sides have agreed to continue the exchange of information and experience in the sphere of combating terrorism within the framework of bilateral legal consultations.

The sides intend to set up cooperation in the near future in the sphere of combating drug addiction.

'Repercussions' Program Focuses on U.S. Ties

LD2410165388 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1855 GMT on 20 October carries a 75-minute edition of the "Repercussions" phone-in program, which is presented by political observer Boris Aleksandrovich Kalyagin, who opens the program and introduces the participants as follows:

"Hello, esteemed viewers. We meet you again in our studio for the 'Repercussions' program from Ostankino, to continue the discussion of interinternational problems and to answer your questions. Today we propose to discuss the whole complex of Soviet-U.S. relations. It's a very important subject. Relations between our countries remain one of the key problems—one that's going to be of great significance for all mankind. I think today we'll be paying special attention to issues connected with arms reduction, both nuclear and conventional, to reducing the threat of war, and at the same time we will be willing to discuss all matters associated in one way or another with the Soviet-U.S. dialogue: attitudes to regional conflicts, humanitarian issues, bilateral contacts, and of course I think a lot of people are interested in the domestic political problems in the United States itself, as the presidential elections approach. So no doubt we'll be ansering those questions as well."

After announcing that there are 12 telephone lines for callers, Kalyagin continues: "Now let me introduce those taking part in today's program: We have with us the IZVESTIYA political observer Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich Bovin; central television and All-Union Radio political observer Professor Valentin Sergeyevich Zorin; and Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin, who is the head of a sub-department...

Sishlin: "You've promoted me again."

Kalyagin: "Deputy—sorry. Deputy head of a CPSU Central Committee subdepartment.

"Well, the U.S. presidential elections are about 2 and ½ weeks away. By tradition they're held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday, which this year falls on 2 November [as heard]. It's generally considered that U.S. diplomacy is in abeyance during the election campaign and the election itself. Some observers have therefore thought that there might also be a pause in the Soviet-U.S. dialogue. Well, just now one can note with satisfaction that no such pause has occurred so far. The proof of that has been the visit of Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze to the United States, where he had meetings both with President Reagan and with Secretary of State George Shultz. The latter was their 29th meeting. This fact alone gives you an idea of the intensity of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue.

"Comrade Shevardndaze also had conversations with both presidential candidates, the Democrat and the Republican. So before we come directly to the questions from viewers, I'd like to ask the panel to give us their opinions and assessments of the results of Comrade Shevardnadze's latest visit to the United States for the Soviet-U.S. dialogue. Whom shall we begin with? Perhaps with you, Nikolay Vladimirovich."

Shishlin: "Well first of all I'd like to say that Eduard Amvrosiyevich himself has expressed his opinion about the results of his visit, because immediately after his conversations in Washington and New York he spoke at a press conference, where he rated the talks he had in the United States this time as four out of a possible five. And he had reason to do so, inasmuch as there was some progress on strategic arms reduction, although the difficulties there are quite considerable. Incidentally, Boris Aleksandrovich, I want to say that while it perhaps can't be called a pause, still the election campaign has brought a bit of a freeze in the Soviet-U.S. dialogue. What I think was quite fruitful was the discussion in the United States of the problem of overcoming regional conflicts exclusively by political means. This was indeed an extensive and fruitful discussion, based on what was already real headway in a number of areas.

"As for the other points of the agenda—humanitarian issues or human rights—these are also being discussed in a constructive tone between Moscow and Washington. As far as our bilateral relations are concerned, of course, we have a very long row to hoe, and there's a great deal of work to be done if we're to expand the framework of Soviet-U.S. bilateral cooperation and give U.S.-Soviet cooperation real substance—although interest in this cooperation in the United States is markedly increasing. So I think on the whole that these intensive contacts between Moscow and Washington mean that the next U.S. Administration will get off to a good start."

Zorin: "I'd like to elaborate on what Nikolay Vladimirovich has said and say that on the one hand, of course, it is the U.S. tradition that during the presidential election, and for some time afterward, U.S. politics does tend to be self-absorbed and taken up with its own domestic affairs. There's bound to be some sort of a pause. On the other hand, however, the fact that with the election ahead, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze has had meetings both with the current President and with the future president of the United States—as he's met the two candidates, one of whom will be master of the White House, you can say he's also met the future incumbent—means that both sides are making an effort to ensure that the pause is as painless as possible. These meetings don't seem to have been just a matter of protocol. There were others both with President Reagan and with Secretary of State Shultz—and that was the 29th meeting between the Soviet and American foreign ministers..."

Kalyagin interrupts: "In 3 years."

Zorin continues: "In 3 years. And that's something that's never happened before in the entire history of Soviet-U.S. relations—or of any others, probably. Furthermore those meetings with Vice President Bush and Governor Dukakis dealt with the real problems of Soviet-U.S. relations. Consequently, one can say that despite the election campaign being at its height, the dialogue continues.

"The second thing to which I'd like to draw our viewers' attention is this. Everyone is interested now in the problem of continuity. There's going to be a change of administration. On 8 November the election will take place. The new president will take over at the White House on 21 January and the new administration will go into action. There'll be a new president and new ministers, including a new secretary of state. Will there be a continuation of what has been emerging in Soviet-U.S. relations over the past years, and more recently, or must we expect serious changes in one direction or another? Well, on the basis both of Eduard Amvrosiyevich's talks with the candidates—what we know of those conversations—and on the basis of the statements of those who can speak with authority, I will answer this question briefly rather than drag things out: I think there will be that continuity. This will be the case because the present course is not the result of the pious hopes of one or another group of politicians, but the reflection of objective conditions in which the next president of the United States will also be operating."

Kalyagin: "Did you want to add something, Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich?"

Bovin: "I agree with the previous speaker."

Kalyagin says there are still questions held over from the last program. No letters are ignored, whether or not there is time to answer them. He continues: "Artur Karlovich, of Moscow, asks: Is there any possibility in the long term of a joint solution of the SDI problem that would be acceptable both to us and to the United States?"

Bovin: "I think Artur Karlovich has asked a question to which 10 'Repercussions' programs could be devoted because it is so interesting, so indefinite, and so important."

Kalyagin: "And there could be so many answers to it."

Bovin: "Answers, yes. There could be two main answers: either some sort of compromise, or no compromise. Those are the two main answers. If you want my opinion, I think that whatever may happen, it will be necessary to look for some kind of compromise with the Americans. This is because to my mind the all-or-nothing attitude is unconstructive. Suppose for the sake of argument that we said: If we don't get what we want, there'll be no agreement on offensive strategic arms. I don't think that would be constructive, and in principle, when reality brings us closer to these issues, we're going to have to tackle this problem of SDI, and I'm convinced that the Americans themselves—since both for us and for them it's a very vital problem—will find some compromise on SDI. The more so since there'll be a new administration, as you rightly say, and no doubt the importance attached to SDI in the general complex of U.S. problems will also change, and there will be the possibility of finding some form of solution that both we and the Americans are happy with. That's how I see it in principle. As yet it's quite impossible, of course, to be more specific."

Zorin: "Well, but if we're talking about the area of compromise, that is already taking shape, perhaps, because there is something in the arguments of those supporters of SDI who say you can't stop the progress of research—in the military sphere, as elsewhere. And no doubt it's true, actually, that whatever the politicians may decide, such progress is under way, if only in the scientific laboratories."

Bovin: "That's the whole problem: whether you're going to test in the lab, in field conditions, or in space—that's the question."

Zorin: "Exactly. That's where the compromise comes in. It would seem sensible to admit that research projects and experimental projects—projects, by the way, which are of general scientific interest—will continue. But when it comes to putting weapons in space, this is something that mustn't happen, and here compromise seems—here we reach the limit that the compromise must not overstep."

Shishlin: "Let me add a word or two, if I may. It seems to me that in reflecting on this question, there are a few realities we have to take into account. The first of them is the evolution of the Soviet attitude toward SDI and our present negotiating position on SDI."

Bovin: "And the evolution of the SDI program itself."

Shishlin: "That's the second part that I'm just coming to. You have to see the difference between the stand we took, say 3 years ago, and our position today. What Valentin Sergeyevich was saying about laboratory projects and so forth, this ceased being any sort of problem long ago, and this is enshrined in the Soviet position. The U.S. position has also evolved, above all in political and public circles. Unfortunately that evolution has affected the present administration the least of all; but as far as the legislative bodies of the United States are concerned, you know that, bit by bit, they've been cutting back allocations for SDI. One has to say in general that the U.S. budget has been showing a downward trend over the past 4 years. U.S. expenditure on the arms race is falling by about 10 percent in real terms."

Bovin: "I think Congress has cut just over $30 billion from what..."

Kalyagin interrupts: "From what had been asked for."

Zorin: "First, it's becoming more and more obvious that the original ambitious aims of SDI are in some degree unrealistic, at least at the present level of scientific and technological development. Secondly, it's too expensive a program even for rich America."

Shishlin: "I'd just like to finish, to round off my contribution to the discussion of this problem. It seems to me that, taking into account this evolution which is taking place in the attitude toward SDI, even within the United States, and taking into account the fairly well-balanced Soviet position, we quite simply can't afford a stalemate over SDI."

Bovin: "Yes, I think that's the most important point."

Kalyagin: "Can we admit that our first reaction to SDI was overimpetuous? What do you think?"

Zorin: "I'd say, I think, that the right answer is implicit in your question. That over-tough reaction on our part to SDI—which may even have had a practical result in the sense that we might have gotten some kind of agreement earlier—was more emotional than rational. That's how it strikes me."

Shishlin: "I don't know, I don't know. I at least wouldn't describe our reaction in that way because that program, as it took shape, really was a dangerous program, a destabilizing program. As for the level of emotion and so on, here we're not talking about emotions, but about real political interests, not only ours, but real political interests of the world community."

Zorin: "That's right, Nikolay Vladimirovich. But when we reacted in that way, we were reacting as if it were a question of something real; whereas at the time of that reaction, one was talking about something that might happen, and would only happen, if at all, in the 21st century. No one claimed that SDI was a problem of the near future. And a lot can change in 20 years."

Shishlin: "Well, it's the old story of Khoja Nasreddin getting the ruler to pay him for teaching his donkey to read."

Zorin: "Either the donkey would be dead in 20 years or the ruler would be.

Shishlin: "Either the ruler would be dead or Khoja Nasreddin himself. But all the same, as emotions and feelings are a rather shaky realm, I don't really want to go on discussing them."

Kalyagin: "Yes, well let's leave SDI for a while, otherwise we'll find, as Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich predicted, that we've spent a whole 'Repercussions' program on that one topic.

"We have another question, which is addressed directly to Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich Bovin. It's a fundamental question, and so I think it concerns everyone. A Moscow pensioner, Aleksey Mikhaylovich Chernov, writes that in his IZVESTIYA article, 'Nuclear War and Politics,' Comrade Bovin asserted that nuclear war can under no circumstances be regarded as a rational choice, or a rational extension of policy. Our esteemed Comrade Chernov says, however, that if our potential enemy becomes convinced that he has the military capability to avert a retaliatory strike, what will then deter him from the temptation to deal the first, disarming blow? Do you not consider that this aspect of the new political thinking—that is, the need to work hard to maintain nuclear parity—should be given all possible support and emphasized in our propaganda? Otherwise, the initial postulate of the thinking of the nuclear age will turn out to be a complacent fairy tale."

Bovin: "Well, I don't think there's any contradiction there at all. Indeed, in view of the possible consequences of a nuclear war, a rational extension cannot be a rational extension of politics. [sentence as heard] That is obvious because we would all die. But for this very reason, in order to be able to talk like that, we are in fact forced to maintain that parity. Even parity may not be quite the right word here because we're talking about preserving the potential for a retaliatory strike: parity in that sense, and not in the sense that you have 100 and we have 100—you have 102 missiles and we have 102 missiles. In that sense parity loses its significance. It's a question of adequacy for delivering a crushing retaliatory strike. Therefore, in my view there's no contradiction at all—it all ties up perfectly. And the comrade is right that we do indeed have to have an adequate nuclear potential in order to be able to inflict that retaliatory strike. That's my understanding of the matter."

Zorin: "Let us hope that this is a purely hypothetical possibility and one we'll never have to resort to."

Bovin: "Yes, of course, of course. For that matter, all of nuclear strategy is nothing more than a sum of hypotheses. But in general these are probable hypotheses, so we have to reckon with them."

An engineer from Minsk complains that a letter from the United States took 6 months to reach him. He also wrote to friends in the United States 6 months ago, and he still does not know whether that letter has arrived. Shishlin replies that the matter should be referred to Lev Aleksandrovich Voznesenskiy, "who is responsible for information in the Council of Ministers," and he will have something to say to the minister of communications. All agree that such postal delays are intolerable. The incident, says Zorin, "draws attention to a problem which the competent bodies must tackle."

Comrade Petrov of Krasnodar asks whether there will be a Soviet-U.S. summit next year. Bovin says there are no official plans but he is sure the answer is yes. Shishlin

agrees; the only question is whether it will be in the first or the second half of the year. Kalyagin says there have even been persistent rumors of another Gorbachev-Reagan meeting this year, but no such meeting is planned.

A Moscow engineer asks why Russians and Americans of the same social class don't get together—workers with workers, and so on. A viewer in Kiev says war veterans should take part in disarmament talks: U.S. and Soviet veterans have much in common. Zorin says such meetings are held—this is "people's diplomacy"—but there should be more of this. The Soviet Peace Committee, of which he is a deputy chairman, will take note.

Shishlin remarks that the U.S. working class is fairly conservative—more so, perhaps, than the intelligentsia.

Vladimir Pavlovich Skvortsev, of Moscow asks: "Bush recently said that if he becomes president, he will talk to us from a position of strength. Is this to be taken seriously?"

Bovin says that it is a serious question. But what about us—do we talk to the Americans from a position of weakness? No, we talk to them from a position of strength too. "They have strength and we have strength; but we must not use that strength for blackmail or intimidation." Bush said what he did because he needs the votes of those who only see the United States as strong, as well as from the reasonable conviction that no one can negotiate from weakness. That's politics.

Zorin states that one should not attach too much importance to what is said in election campaigns. Bush's tone is tougher or softer according to whom he is addressing.

A viewer in Baku asks who will win the U.S. election. Zolotukhin, from Crimea Oblast, wants to know which candidate is more in favor of strengthening relations with the USSR. Kozlov, of Moscow, says Bush will win and that there will be a complete change of policy toward the USSR, but Kalyagin says he doubts this.

Shishlin says the differences are not great, but Bush is more pragmatic and "less ideological." Ideological politics is never a good thing.

Bovin says that Dukakis is closer to the Soviet view on disarmament. Shishlin agrees: Dukakis has far greater doubts about SDI than Bush. On other issues—the Middle East, for instance—the situation is different.

Zorin suggests viewers may be wondering why, if Dukakis has a more balanced platform, Bush is in the lead. Bovin says that "more balanced" from the Soviet point of view is quite different from "more balanced" from the U.S. point of view. Zorin agrees. The mood in the United States is quite different from what it was 2 years ago, but it would be wishful thinking to imagine that the process is complete. "So far we have no cause to build any illusions, although the emergence of a more sober-minded U.S. society, the process of changing Americans' attitude toward the Soviet Union in the sphere of Soviet-U.S. relations is beyond dispute, and will continue," Zorin says.

Shishlin: "If you'll allow me, Boris Aleksandrovich, I have here an amusing question from Comrade Nikolayev, from Moscow. This follows on from what Valentin Sergeyevich was saying. 'In the spring of this year, in Moscow, Reagan shook hands with Gorbachev. Can one not discern here an analogy with 1939, when Hitler signed a nonaggression treaty with Stalin, and 2 years later, what happened, happened. Could there be something similar in store for us in 2 or 3 years? After all, history teaches us, and woe to those who forget its lessons.' Well, that question, so dramatically posed, leads one, frankly, to some sad reflections: How many stereotypes are still ingrained in us, in us ourselves, and how many, well..."

Bovin interrupts: "By the way, I've received several letters saying much the same thing."

Shishlin: "Manners of thinking that are entirely in the old pattern. In other words, people develop a taste for confrontation. They develop a taste for tough statements, for clamorous, strident statements. At a time when intermediate- and shorter-range missiles are being scrapped, when there's progress in Geneva as regards the talks on cutting strategic offensive arms while observing the regime of the ABM Treaty; when we may begin talks this year in Vienna on a reduction of conventional arms and armed forces in a vast zone of Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, alarm sets in. Before, all was calm: The military budget was increasing, armaments were being improved, and there were no dramatic issues. And now, when we're really stepping back from the brink on which we found ourselves—the brink of the abyss, the brink of the precipice—that's when such worries arise. Of course one can understand Comrade Nikolayev's question. But I'm quite unable to share his alarm. I think that, as far as the external political situation is concerned, things are now going in the direction we want, in the right direction."

Zorin: "I'd like to invite Comrade Nikolayev to ponder this problem: to compare the situation at the time to which he alludes, before the war, when the question of the possibility of war was horrifying and terrible but did not mean the end of the human race; and the situation today, when a major war means the end of life on earth. Not only do we realize this, but they realize it on the other side as well. Therefore, to compare manifestations of what you might simply call mankind's instinct of self-preservation, at the present state, with the political realities of what happened before World War II is simply to turn one's back not only on the future, but also on the present."

Kalyagin says that viewers ask why we're discussing the U.S. election—because we've been asked about it, and because the Soviet-U.S. dialogue depends on it to some extent. They also complain that we're dragging out the program. Viewers ask whether they can visit the United States and Canada, and how long the formalities will take. Can a Soviet citizen seek medical treatment in the United States?

Shishlin answers that if you're invited, you can go. As for the formalities, Shishlin hopes the comrades at the Department of Visas and Registration are listening: "I think they understand that the time taken to process such documents must be steadily reduced." Tourist trips to the United States already take place, but we're short of currency. A full-blooded tourist exchange is highly desirable. "Is a citizen of the USSR entitled to seek medical treatment in the United States? The individual has a right to everything, especially when it's a question of medical aid."

The discussion then moves on to Afghanistan. Viewers ask: Why is the United States violating its obligations? Has Zia's death affected the U.S. attitude, and is there any prospect of an end to the supply of U.S.-made rockets to the dushmans? What are the views of Bush and Dukakis?

Bovin replies that there is no difference between Bush and Dukakis: Aid to the rebels will continue. The Americans say that as the USSR supplies arms to the government, they will supply them to the rebels.

Kalyagin: "Well, questions on Afghanistan are still coming in. Again, why doesn't Reagan stop aid to the dushmans? Another question: Why are we not being told the truth about how many of our boys are being killed in Afghanistan? That's from Comrade Abasov of Ungheni in the Moldavian SSR. Well, we have officially announced our casualties in Afghanistan, and therefore..."

Bovin interrupts: "There seems to be another question here: Insofar as the withdrawal of the troops is continuing—and they're not simply being seen off with brass bands and red carpets, but we are losing men in that process, our soldiers are being killed there—indeed, I fully agree with the people who are writing about this. I consider that we must—our Defense Ministry must—in each specific case tell our Soviet people about this. Why? Because we are fighting for glasnsot, but not everything can be achieved at once. Here it seems that we have not attained the glasnost that is necessary, not only politically, but also from the moral point of view. Because telling us about the men who are dying there is not just a problem of politics, it's also a problem of morality and respect for the Soviet people. Unfortunately, so far we're not succeeding in reaching that level of glasnost."

Kalyagin: "Aleksander Yevgeniyevich, by tradition the controversial questions from viewers go to you. One I've already given to you."

Bovin: "I've got this question: Dmitriy Vasiliyevich Ivashkin, a forester from Moscow, writes: I was recently reading Academician Sakharov. He proposes halving our troops and cutting the period of service to 1 year, and he'd like to know what our comentators have to say to that suggestion.

"Well, I think in principle Academician Sakharov is right, in a certain respect. Of course we evidently need some sort of integrated reform of everything to do with our army, of our whole army, probably. We need to switch from the vast millions to a new army, smaller perhaps in numerical strength, but qualitatively better armed. Possibly in that context we'll have to reduce the period of service. But this is not something to be tackled piecemeal, or by dealing with just one aspect. We've got to think through this whole complex of problems and set about seriously reforming the totality of our military construction. Probably the time has come to tackle this question, and I think that in the course of the restructuring that our country is experiencing, it will be resolved—not, perhaps, exactly as Sakharov says, but along those lines, along those lines."

Shishlin: "Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich, I'd like to remind you that this issue was touched on in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech at the 19th party conference. He made the very point that it is necessary to make reliable provision for the security of the Soviet Union by enhancing the quality of our Armed Forces, and not simply by numerical strength, scale, and so on. "Here's a problematic question from Ivan Ivanovich Yegorov, of Moscow. He asks—although he can see that no one at this table is wearing shoulder boards: Is there any intention to raise the niggardly level of the material conditions of Soviet servicemen to the normal level in developed countries such as the United States?"

Bovin: "This is actually connected with the previous question."

Shishlin: "Yes, I think these questions are logically linked in some way, and I'd like to repeat what Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich has said: that evidently the time has come for some kind of broad military reform. Our military comrades are restructuring the Army. But maybe the depth and scale of that restructuring—it's not for me to judge—have not yet reached the level we are attaining in reforming the political system."

Zorin: "In any event, it should be said that this has already become the subject of public discussion. There is discussion in the press of, for instance, the problems of housing for officers who are completing their service,

and of a number of other matters not previously discussed. This shows that taboo subjects have ceased to be taboo, and that consequently public opinion will have an influence in ensuring that these just and timely questions are solved."

Shishlin: "By the way, I don't want to skate too quickly from one thing to another, but I just happened to read today in one of the papers a rather intelligent commentary by one of our observers, dealing precisely with this idea that's been put forward by Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov, concerning our Armed Forces."

A viewer in Krasnodar asks why the U.S. Communist Party is not more active. Zorin replies that it's quite active for its size. Soviet journalists should, perhaps, give it more coverage. Two of the many reasons for its lack of influence are the high standard of living enjoyed by skilled workers in the United States, and the not unsuccessful anticommunist campaign, as a result of which the word communist has become a term of abuse.

Kalyagin: "I want to draw attention to a question we received earlier from engineer Yuriy Petrovich Aleksandrov, of Moscow. It may not be directly relevant to the theme of our program, but I think there is an indirect connection. Comrade Aleksandrov asks us whether glasnost and criticism have become an active factor in our international journalism. Well, it depends what sort of criticism Comrade Aleksandrov has in mind. If he means criticism of the Western powers, that has always been an active factor. [laughs] But I think, judging by the point of the question, what he probably has in mind is criticism of our own foreign policy. Here matters are obviously not so simple. It's clear that glasnost in our external affairs is not developing as vigorously or strongly as glasnost in internal affairs."

Bovin: "All the same, I have to say that although we are extending these boundaries of glasnost all the time—with creaking, friction, and resistance, but we are extending them—at present we can criticize our foreign policy from about, let's say, 3 or 4 years back. In 1988, for instance, you can criticize 1985. But closer to the present, 1988 for instance, when we come to the current moves of our foreign policy, this is generally an area that glasnost has not yet reached. What happened, say, 3 or 4 years ago can be criticized. That, by the way, is quite an achievement."

Kalyagin: "Would you agree, however, that there are also certain objective considerations, that not all issues can be laid open to the broad public as they affect the interests of third countries."

Bovin: "Certainly, certainly. But if we look at how the Americans—who are not our enemies any more, but our partners—do things, they think nothing of discussing their current foreign policy, and that does not in the least prevent them from pursuing an active foreign policy, as it were, in the world arena. It doesn't bother them. Clashes do occur, but... [changes thought] Well, of course you have to take into account the interests of the state, certainly. And yet, I think we'll go on expanding that framework of glasnost still further. Because if, for instance, today the foreign minister makes some statement—in the United Nations, for example—I as a writer on international affairs, as someone who analyzes foreign policy, today can only say what a good statement Comrade Shevardnadze made. But suppose I have some other view or specific suggestion: As yet, I can only keep it to myself, and wait until 3 years or so have passed; then possibly I'll say it. So I think there's still room for greater development of glasnost."

Zorin: "There's a great deal of room for that, of course, and there are quite definite grounds for the sharp criticism inherent in the question. But I simply want the comrades to see that things are changing. I don't altogether agree with my friend Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich that we can criticize what happened 3 years ago, but not what's happening today. Let me cite, for example, the last two Studio Nine broadcasts, where in one of them Vitaliy Vladimirovich Zhurkin, a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences, had some quite sharp things to say about our current activities. Among other things he expressed doubts as to whether we really need the number of tanks we have in Europe, and many of those tanks are simply obsolete but are counted as part of the total. That, Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich, doesn't refer to 3 years ago but to today and, God forbid, tomorrow. Even in today's program, Nikolay Vladimirovich and I have expressed different points of view on the problem of SDI. That, too, is a problem of today and tomorrow."

Bovin: "You've almost convinced me, Valentin Sergeyevich." [laughter]

Zorin: "I'm glad of that."

Shishlin: "Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich, to convince you completely, I'll just add a couple of words. Another form of criticism of our present foreign policy is that our contacts with Japan are unfortunately not developing actively enough. That form of criticism does exist."

Zorin: "But in general we still have a lot to do. As for where we should begin, let us honestly admit that we've got to begin with ourselves, by breaking the stereotypes lodged within us. I think we'll try to do that."

Kalyagin: "I want to draw viewers' attention to an article by Academician Arbatov published in PRAVDA 3 days ago under the heading 'Glasnost, Talks, and Disarmament,' in which he raises this very question of glasnost in our foreign and military policy."

A viewer asks whether Reagan will be having more disarmament talks with Gorbachev before the end of his presidency, with the reply that no such meeting is planned.

Nazarov, of Moscow, asks whether the panel knows of any meetings between U.S. and Soviet millionaires. They reply that they don't, and Zorin says he is better informed about U.S. millionaires than about Soviet ones.

Kalyagin: "A musician from Tashkent, Delizonov, writes: At every summit, human rights are discussed. What rights are we deprived of in comparison with the Americans, and if we are deprived of them, then by whom?"

Shishlin: "Very well, then. But it's probably better not to talk in terms of comparison with the Americans. The years of the cult of personality were marked by the wildest and most monstrous violations of socialist legality. The years of stagnation, as writings published not yesterday but today, tell us, were also associated with the law not being observed; the law was flouted. Only yesterday I, together with all those watching television, saw a frightening documentary film about Uzbekistan, about Odylov. So when the comrade from Tashkent asks in what way the law has been flouted, I think Uzbekistan offers plenty of illustrations. That is why today we are setting ourselves the task of shaping a socialist state based on the rule of law, in which the law is all-powerful. That is why the democratization of society and, precisely, the forming of a socialist state based on the rule of law, are the lifeline and the key area of restructuring."

A viewer asks the significance of the Democrat and Republican symbols, the donkey and the elephant? Zorin says they have no special significance.

Kalyagin: "Now, we've got a number of questions here about television—Soviet and American. Comrade Vedeneyev even says he has asked this question and has the impression that the studio is ignoring it. Well we don't, of course, ignore them, but the sheer number is so great that it's impossible to answer them all immediately. Television plays a big role, of course, in relations between East and West, between the Soviet Union and the United States. In the first place, you all remember the telebridges that have been held between Soviet and American people—they of course help to bring our nations closer together. Secondly, you've seen the detailed coverage we give to summit meetings and to visits—ours to the United States, and of American figures to us. I think the question is now on the agenda of widening the exchange of television programs between our two countries—so very soon no doubt, we'll be able to see U.S. programs, and they'll see ours."

Zorin: "Today, in the'120 Minutes Program,' and yesterday, I saw U.S. news programs that were included in our information program. That's only a beginning, but presumably something more will come of it."

A viewer asks if the USSR owes money to the United States under lend-lease. Bovin answers that yes, these are details. The United States is not pressing for payment, as they have failed to give the Soviet Union most-favored status.

Pensioner Avanesov, from a village in Moscow Oblast, writes: "You often say on television, we try to answer your questions. What does that mean—do you pick those that it's convenient to answer, or what?" Kalyagin assures him that they really do try to answer them all.

The question is asked: "Everyone knows that the Americans have established military bases surrounding our country. We, at some sacrifice, have armed in order to defend ourselves. Now suddenly we're accused of being armed to excess—as if we hadn't the right to defend ourselves from those bases. And once again Bush is saying he'll only talk to us from a position of strength."

Shishlin explains that the bases date from the beginning of the cold war. If Soviet actions mirrored U.S. ones on the eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth principle, the world would soon fall into an abyss. The new thinking takes account of others' interests as well as of one's own. We live in an interdependent world. "And on the level of the use of military force, there are limits to its use, beyond which comes the empire of madness."

Zorin: "Konstantin Mikhaylovich Molodtsev of Kalinin, writes: Do we have a military-industrial complex? You, Valentin Sergeyevich, said in a recent Studio Nine program that we don't, but Comrade Ryzhkov said we do. So where does the truth lie? Well, above all, the truth is probably with Comrade Ryzhkov. The same question is asked by Comrade Pavel Andreyevich Mychalov. I just want to clarify this because I don't think you could have listened attentively to all that was said, comrades.

"The question was asked whether we have a military-industrial complex or not. Two anwers were given to that question. A representative of the General Staff who was taking part in the program answered no, but Valentin Mikhaylovich Falin, doctor of historical sciences, showed in some detail the influence of our military-industrial complex—he didn't use that term, but spoke of military thinking and of those who have paid most heed to the arguments of the military, in the past—so it followed from that answer that we take the view that we should deny such elements. In general, my position was close to what Valentin Mikhaylovich Falin said in that program."

Kalyagin: "Ivan Ivanovich Petrov, of Kiev, asks why the Americans publish our leaders' speeches, but we don't print theirs, and when will we print their speeches in the press."

Bovin: "That is actually a very widespread misunderstanding. Dear comrades, if you think the Americans publish Gorbachev's speeches in their newspapers, it's absolutely untrue."

Zorin: "Only in brief summary."

Bovin: "The Moscow correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES will report 10 lines from a Gorbachev speech, or 20. And those 10 or 20 lines get printed—no more. So you might say we're equal with the Americans in this. Sometimes, indeed, we make a somewhat better showing. But sometimes worse, because Reagan makes a speech, and TASS gives it a drubbing; when reading TASS, however, you can't make out what they're criticizing him for because they don't quote what he said. So of course at times we still don't do a good job. All the same, we do try to present the main arguments and ideas, and then analyze them. So I repeat: Don't imagine the Americans print the speeches of our leaders! That's not so at all—not so at all."

Kalyagin: "But there's a grain of truth in what Comrade Petrov says because occasionally when we discuss a speech by a Western leader, we not so much report what he said as offer our own comments about it."

Bovin: "That's what I'm saying."

Zorin: "I'm not disputing that. But I want to say again that I've been reading the American press—the American papers—for many years in the line of duty, and I can assure you, esteemed comrades, that not only in years, but in decades I've never once read in a leading American paper a speech by a Soviet leader in anything like a full summary, let alone the text. It has always been so, and it's still so today."

Comrade Skvortsev suggests that the "Repercussions" programs should be published in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI or in other newspapers. Shishlin says they have plenty of material of their own; Kalyagin says they might care to publish a few excerpts.

Aliyev of Kiev asks what influence international Zionism and Israel have on U.S. elections. They do have some influence, says Zorin, because American Jews are politically active. Almost all of them vote, whereas much of the rest of the population doesn't bother. Bovin points out that most of the Jews are liberals. Some of the media are under Zionist influence, Zorin continues, and the candidates take a lot of notice of the media.

To the question of why the USSR and the United States use different methods of destroying missiles, Shishlin says Soviet scientists have had the idea of using the explosion of the missiles as a source of information about processes in the earth's crust. Various methods are possible, and they are specified in the treaty.

Shishlin: "Here's an interesting question: The Baltic republics want to join the United Nations, writes a comrade who does not give his name—an economist from Riga in the Latvian SSR, but the main obstacle is the U.S. attitude. What is your opinion—is there any prospect of the problem being solved?

"It's a very difficult question. It would be fine, of course, if all the union republics had seats at the United Nations and made their contribution to the work of that organization, the role of which is indeed increasing. But as I see it, apart from representation at the United Nations, we should now be thinking about relations among ethnic groups in the context of the reflections that are proceeding on preparations for the party Central Committee plenum, which is to be especially devoted to these issues; and also in the context of the reflections and discussions underway as regards broadening the rights, responsibility, and powers of the union and autonmous republics, and so on. That is something we must certainly concern ourselves with, along with enhancing the international prestige and position of each of the union republics on the world scene.

"Comrade Viktor Petrovich Semenov, an engineer from Syktyvkar, asks why I didn't answer the question about violations of human rights in our country in comparison with the Americans.

"I can assure you that it wasn't because I wanted to hide anything. It's just that I don't regard U.S. democracy as a criterion for us, though U.S. democracy undoubtedly does have some positive features. U.S. diplomacy per se, and its gains and achievements, are very valuable for the whole democratic process, in whatever country this diplomacy is practiced. But at the same time, as we've seen again and again, that democracy, as a bourgeois democracy, also has its defects; and we would like to be guided by our own socialist ideal."

A viewer asks if the USSR has raised with the United States the question of the return of Alaska? Kalyagin describes this question as "rather jocular," and answers no. Zorin explains that Alaska was sold outright—not leased for 100 years, as some people seem to think.

Kalyagin: "Well, that brings us to the end of our program. I think we're all agreed that the Soviet-U.S. dialogue has already produced some substantial results. Of course one would like to have much more, especially as the foundation is there. But we're dealing with a rather difficult negotiating partner, and every step toward agreements requires effort. Nonetheless, the dialogue is being expanded, as is the range of issues that affect the interests of the whole world. So its prospects can probably be assessed with balanced optimism. I think you'd agree.

"Well, the numerous questions we've received and will certainly try to answer in due course show that viewers are very interested in the subjects that have been raised. I'd like to thank the viewers for their active participation and interesting questions, and I thank you for your interesting answers."

Commentator on 'Contradictions' in Cocom

LD2610131288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Gennadiy Vedenyapin commentary]

[Text] A session of the executive committee of Cocom, the Coordinating Committee for Export Controls to the socialist countries, is under way in Paris. This organization, which was formed in the cold war years, brings together the NATO countries and Japan. Here is a Mayak commentary by Gennadiy Vedenyapin:

[Vedenyapin] Traditionally the work of Cocom takes place amidst the strictest secrecy. Nevertheless, on the eve of the session unambiguous information was leaked to the press to the effect that this session would most probably not go as smoothly as its main director, the United States, would like.

The fact is that people in Washington are concerned about the increase in West Europe's economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Judgeing by all accounts, it is the stance of the FRG, whose business circles do not conceal their dissatisfaction with the excessively swollen prohibitive lists from Cocom, which arouses particular irritation. These lists number 700 pages and include hundreds of thousands of items whose export to East Europe is prohibited because they could, they say, help the Soviets outstrip the West militarily. Tough sanctions are also envisaged for violation of the bans. Moreover, according to qualified and sensible assessments, 90 percent of the Cocom list is hopelessly outdated and serves only as a brake on the course of natural development of economic cooperation between East and West. However, Washington has no interest in this, protecting the interests of its monopolies on the international market, including the markets of the socialist countries.

It is not surprising that only the strongest competitors can pass through the prohibitive sieve of Cocom and that, as a rule, these are American companies. Something else is striking: It may or may not be coincidence, but Cocom happens to be meeting in Paris just when FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl is making a visit to our country, on which business people in West Germany are pinning great hopes. One way or the other, if we are to believe AFP, the Americans intend to express their dissatisfaction with their allies at this session, and to call to order first and foremost Bonn, where people are particularly dissatisfied with the too-slow review of the prohibited list with a view to reducing it. A decision on this was made long ago but the Americans, who set the tone in Cocom, are clearly in no hurry to implement it. Moreover, in its new law on trade the United States has included a clause providing for sanctions against foreign companies which break Cocom rules. By keeping for itself the right to decide and punish those who have bartered, which smacks directly of interference in the internal affairs of its allies, Washington has literally angered France and its other West European partners, who have threatened to unleash a trade war against the United States.

In short, the contradictions in Cocom, which was until recently the apparently inviolate territory of the White House, have become palpably more acute. This is yet another manifestation of the conflict between yesterday's dogma of force and the new thinking in today's international affairs.

UN Decolonization Committee Adopts Resolutions

LD2610102688 Moscow TASS in English 0812 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 26 TASS—The fourth committee (decolonization) of the U.N. General Assembly's 43rd session has called upon the Government of Morocco and the people's Polisario Front to display political will, needed for the beginning of direct negotiations on a ceasefire and for the necessary conditions to be created for a referendum amid the native population of Western Sahara on the future status of the territory.

The committee's draft resolution, passed on Tuesday [25 October], expresses approval for the efforts being undertaken by the chairman of the Organization of African Unity and the U.N. secretary-general to find a fair and final solution of the question of Western Sahara. Its decolonisation should be completed on the basis of the exercise by the people of the inalienable right to self-determination and independece, the document underlines.

The fourth committee approved of a number of draft resolutions on the question of implementation of the declaration on granting indepedence to colonial countries and peoples. In the document on the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands it is noted with satisfaction that the Government of Argentina has stated once again its striving for a peace settlement of the dispute on their sovereignty through negotiations. But, notwithstanding broad international support, the negotiations have not yet begun. The draft resolution calls upon Britain and Argentina to resume dialogue with the assistance of the Good Offices Mission of the U.N. secretary-general.

The draft resolution on the question of New Caledonia notes the French authorities' efforts to promote political, economic and social development of that overseas territory. The committee called upon the sides to refrain from acts of violence and continue broadening the framework of peaceful progress of the islands towards self-determination.

It was proposed that the U.N. General Assembly should reaffirm Britain's responsibility for creating conditions for free self-determination and acquiring independence by the peoples of the territories which are under its trusteeship—Anguilla, Cayman, Bermuda Islands, Montserrat, the Turks and Caicos Islands and also the British Virgin Islands. At the committee's meeting it was insistently underlined that it is necessary to take efficient measures to protect the local natural resources from being plundered and to establish control over their development.

Draft resolutions on the question of trust territories of the United States—Guam, American Samoa, U.S. Virgin Islands, and the trust territory of the Pacific Islands—note that such factors as the size of the territory, geographical position, the strength of the population and the limited natural resources by no means should delay their early decolonisation. Meanwhile it is noted that the presence on trust territories of military bases and structures is a serious obstacle to the exercise of their sovereign rights in accordance with the goals and principles of the U.N. Charter.

The keynote of the draft resolutions which were passed is that the dependent territories' becoming military springboards leads to the appearance of new seats of tension on the planet, creates a threat to universal peace and security of the peoples.

International Foundation Given Legal Guarantees
LD2210053588 Moscow TASS in English 2100 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 21 TASS—A news conference held today in Moscow was devoted to the ensurance of legal guarantees for the activity in the USSR territory of the international foundation "For the Survival and Development of Humanity". The news conference was called in connection with a resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers, adopted a few days ago, under which the status of an independent international non-governmental organisation enjoying the rights of juridical personality was granted to the foundation.

Speaking at the news conference, the foundation's executive director Rolf Bjornerstedt of Sweden, expressed satisfaction over this governmental decision which opens "unique opportunities for the activity of this philanthropic organisation in the Soviet territory." According to the decree, the foundation is officially allowed raising funds in the USSR for the financing of global scientific programs. These funds are formed of voluntary contributions, gifts from Soviet public and creative workers' organisations, work collectives, cooperatives and individuals, as well as proceeds from lotteries, auctions, publishing and other useful social activity.

Rolf Bjornerstedt recalled that the idea for the creation of the foundation was conceived at the international forum for a non-nuclear world and the survival of humanity which was held in February 1987 in Moscow. This idea was supported by Mikhail Gorbachev. He urged outstanding scientists of the world to encourage the research into burning problems of international affairs and promote the development of global scientific programs. The Board of Directors of the foundation having branches in Moscow, Washington and Stockholm includes such prominent public leaders, workers in science and the arts as Dmitriy Likhachev and Roald Sagdeyev (the USSR), Armand Hammer and Susan Eisenhower (USA), Federico Mayor (UNESCO), Kodi Hushimi (Japan), Mario Guttierez (Italy).

Chairman of the international foundation, Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences Yevgeniy Velikhov told newsmen about the short-term plans of the organisation and pointed to a number of projects connected with problems of disarmament and development, ecological security and protection of human rights. All of them will be discussed at a meeting of the Board of Directors of the foundation to be held in Washington in November.

United States & Canada

Bush, Dukakis Court Voters, Avoid Issues

OW2510135988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1200 GMT 25 Oct 88

[From "The World Today" program; presented by Valentin Dvinin]

[Text] The U.S. presidential elections will take place exactly 2 weeks from now, on 8 November. According to the U.S. press, the election campaign has entered its final stage. Some observers feel that the result of the struggle for the White House has already been decided. These observers are relying on opinion polls which show that Bush is confidently leading the race. [Video shows Bush addressing a meeting]

The history of U.S. presidential elections is not without surprises. In this regard, there are those among the Democrats who recall the 1960 campaign when, according to opinion polls, Nixon was leading, but in fact, it was John Kennedy who ended up occupying the presidential seat.

The reasons cited for the decline in Dukakis's popularity are the two television duels with Bush. In the opinion of several specialists, the Democratic candidate was unable to counter his opponent on matters of domestic policies and, above all, on matters pertaining to economic problems, which the American voters are most interested in. Moreover, the analysis of all speeches made by the candidates show that they do not have serious, constructive proposals for the solution of these problems. Perhaps it is not coincidental that TIME has noted that during the television debates both Bush and Dukakis avoided raising new issues and introducing new arguments. An American NEWSWEEK investigation had shown that 75 percent of Americans feel that the candidates are only saying that which is conducive to winning votes and have left out many important issues. Therefore, it has been suggested that the number of those who will not vote on 8 November will perhaps be one of the largest in the history of U.S. presidential elections.

Whether these forecasts are correct or not will soon be known. Little time remains for waiting.

U.S. Ambassador Matlock Interviewed

PM2610161388 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 42, 17-23 Oct 88 (signed to press 19 Oct 88) p 13

[Interview with Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, by V. Syrokomskiy under the rubric "Guests of Page Thirteen": "Jack F. Matlock, U.S. Ambassador"—date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is NEDELYA introduction]

[Excerpt] Today the guest of our 13th page is Jack F. Matlock, U.S. ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR. He was born in 1929, in Greensboro, North Carolina. He graduated from Columbia University. He has held a number of responsible posts in the State Department and in U.S. diplomatic and consular institutions abroad and was the U.S. President's special aide in the National Security Council apparatus.

[Syrokomskiy] For the first time the guest of our 13th page is the ambassador of a foreign power. Understandably, it would be interesting for our readers to know how one becomes an ambassador. Please tell us about yourself, Mr Matlock, and your career.

Incidentally, how does one explain the fact that U.S. ambassadors include former and active generals and admirals? My question is connected with the fact that, when you addressed students at the Marshal of the Soviet Union R.Ya. Malinovskiy Armored Troops Military Academy, you remarked: "...high ranking military officers have the opportunity to become ambassadors, but the opposite does not happen; diplomats are not invited to command aircraft carriers or divisions."

[Matlock] I am a professional diplomat. I joined the diplomatic service 32 years ago. As is customary on joining the diplomatic service, after taking my examinations I began with minor posts. Before becoming a diplomat I studied Russian literature, completed my postgraduate studies, and taught at the university. But I was not a narrow specialist; I studied the Soviet Union a great deal as a whole: its history, its state system, and so forth.

Now about the military: In our country the president appoints ambassadors. The majority are professional diplomats, but there are nonprofessionals, as in your country. During Ronald Reagan's presidency the proportion of professionals has been approximately two-thirds of the total number of diplomats. As for generals and admirals, then, unless I am mistaken, we have none in diplomatic posts at present. I am pleased to note that my former diplomatic colleague Frank Carlucci has become our defense secretary.

Some of my predecessors in Moscow—during World War II and the first years after the war—were indeed military men. President Roosevelt believed that it was easier for military men to find a common language with Marshal Stalin. That is why Admiral William H. Standley was ambassador in 1942-1943, General Walter B. Smith was ambassador in 1946-1948, and another admiral, Alan G. Kirk, was ambassador in 1949-1951.

As for my speech at the armored troops military academy. I want to note with satisfaction that in March of this year the Soviet ambassador in Washington was granted the opportunity to deliver a speech at the national military college. Such speeches promote better mutual understanding between our countries. They can help to destroy the walls of distrust and suspicion. There is no doubt that the Soviet Union and the United States

should be interested in developing mutual dialogue as widely and deeply as possible. Such dialogue is needed, and not only between diplomats and statesmen.

[Syrokomskiy] In recent years Soviet-U.S. relations have undergone considerable changes for the better. How do you assess the present state of our relations and, which is particularly important, the prospects for their development?

[Matlock] It seems to me that the prospects are good. Of course, that depends on our policy and your policy, but it seems to me that our relations are now developing in a positive direction. Of course, that does not mean there are no problems. Real divergences exist between our countries, and their importance should not be underrated. Some divergences are quite serious. But the most important thing is that we are now openly discussing our disagreements and trying to find solutions, and if we cannot agree with each other we are at any rate trying to avoid confrontation. In my view, if we are able to continue the present policy, the prospects are most favorable. Differences between our countries should not bar the way to more active cooperation.

Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev have signed the treaty on eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. This historic treaty was the result of enormous joint efforts aimed at considerably reducing our countries' nuclear arms. Let's hope that this is only the first step, which will soon be followed by an agreement on a 50-percent reduction of the strategic offensive arms of the USSR and the United States.

[Syrokomskiy] In your speech to the students of the armored troops military academy you said in particular:

"I have served in Moscow at various times, and since 1961 I have spent a total of 8 years here. It must be said that of these years the present period is the most interesting. Both Soviet people and foreigners have come to realize that in the Soviet Union today there is the need, the desire, and the internal potential for fundamental changes. 'Perestroyka' and 'glasnost'—these Russian words are well known in the West and have even entered the English language. We are following with great attention the degree to which the real changes in your life accord with these concepts."

What do you expect from our restructuring?

[Matlock] First, your restructuring is above all your internal business. But we realize that what is taking place now in the Soviet Union is very important and could ultimately exert great influence on our life, too.

It is hard for me to say what we expect from restructuring. Because the aim of restructuring is the creation of a better life for the citizens of the Soviet Union, we welcome these aims: After all, if the living standard, the circumstance of living, improve in one country, it is important to everyone. That is the first point.

But, second, in my view the development of glasnost and openness is advantageous not only from the viewpoint of access to information but also to society as a whole. This could greatly assist better understanding and better mutual relations. Here is why. Of course, our differences, our divergences are not insuperable. But nonetheless in the past misunderstandings greatly aggravated real difficulties. If we are now able to treat each other more openly, that means we will create a basis for greater trust. That is why it seems to me that glasnost and openness play a direct part in building better mutual relations. [passage omitted in which Matlock talks about Russian literature and his family]

Commentary on CIA's 'Cloak and Dagger' Tactics

LD2110064388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 20 Oct 88

[News commentary entitled "Washington's Secret Operations" presented by international affairs journalist Nikolay Agayants]

[Text] Exactly 5 years ago, the President of the United States, Ronald Reagan, signed a special directive on the CIA's secret operations, essentially giving a completely free hand to the American espionage department and confirming its right to prepare and implement all kinds of diversionary actions for overthrowing lawful governments not to Uncle Sam's liking. The master of the White House then stated at a news conference that secret operations are an integral part of the authorities' political activities. Well, he was not beating around the bush. This admission, however, was not all that much of a revelation, for from the first days of the CIA's existence the cloak-and-dagger knights from Langley have been adding to their secret operations.

By the way, the Americans themselves refer to the Central Intelligence Agency as nothing other than the Department of Dirty Affairs, and they have more than sufficient grounds for this. During the 41 years of its activities, the United States' main espionage department has accumulated a wealth of experience regarding conspiracies and coups, the implementation of subversive operations, diversions, and political assassinations. I will remind you that CIA agents were behind the overthrow of the Mossadeq government in Iran and the villainous assassination of Congo's Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba. They organized diversions and provocations in Indochina on the eve of the start of the aggression against Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Lads from Langley had a hand in the CIA's subversive actions against the socialist states.

It must also be said that in the past few years the United States' secret intelligence operations have been most closely coordinated and linked with the activities of the

U.S. military. It was precisely the CIA that selected targets on the territory of Nicaragua, Libya, Lebanon, and Iran, against which the Pentagon planned to inflict or inflicted bomb and missile strikes as notorious measures of retribution, retribution for the fact that the governments of these countries did not wish to submit to Washington's diktat and were pursuing their independent policy.

It should be emphasized that, through mercenaries and counterrevolutionaries, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency is waging undeclared wars against the people of Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Angola, and Mozambique. There is probably no other such agency in the United States, excluding of course the expensive Pentagon, on whose activities the administration would spend its budget funds so generously. According to the testimony of the CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY, more than 25 billion dollars are allocated annually for the CIA's operations. For better or for worse, NEWSWEEK magazine observes, our espionage firm is again engaging in its old business of secret operations on a global scale and with the utilization of immense resources. That is how things are now with the U.S. cloak-and-dagger knights who, with the blessing of the White House, are stepping up their activities everywhere.

No Soviet Motives in Baby Trade Stories

U.S. Criticism Decried

WA18070033 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 36, 7 Sep 88 p 9

[Article by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA own correspondent Vladimir Vesenskiy under the rubric "The Truth About Human Rights": "The Police, Morning Coffee, and the Soviet Press"]

[Text] Buenos Aires—**Several million Argentine television viewers witnessed a harsh scene. In a poor neighborhood of Buenos Aires neighbors beat up an old woman, a mother of three. She did not resist and only affirmed: I know nothing. But what can one hide in a small village? The neighbors had seen that at noon the woman went somewhere with her three children, a baby in her arms. She returned without the baby. A child disappeared from her neighbors' while they were at work. Who kidnapped him, if not the neighbor, and where did the single mother suddenly get money? The money with which she bought a plot of land and the lumber with which to build a house? The television station involved itself in investigating the affair and involved the police, but the child was not found. Where could he have disappeared to? For the local press and its readers there was no question.**

In Argentina, as in all of Latin America, a mafia trading in children is active. There are no exact data about the scale of this trade, but some evidence has filtered to the surface: Mr. Atilo Alvares, an adviser on childrens' affairs, considers that up to 200 children per year are sold in Argentina. The Peruvian police are investigating 500 cases of "exported" children. From Chile 800 children are sold abroad every year. They steal babies from single mothers from poor families, they bid for them in poor neighborhoods, and they pilfer them from maternity wards. The prices for children are widely known—from $1,000 to $40,000.

The mafia is working full blast. Gunmen-kidnappers, buyers, boatmen, and lawyers participate in its operations. In recent years a network of traders in children was uncovered in Mexico, Honduras, Chile, and Colombia. In Paraguay, which has become a veritable paradise for traders in stolen goods from all over Latin America, the police entered a fairly wealthy house to break up a fight between the sisters Maria and Fatima Barrios, and discovered in the house a real "preparation" point for babies for sale. There were seven newborn children in the house. As the Paraguayan press suggests, the children were brought in from Brazil. They were being prepared for shipment to the United States and Israel. Two Paraguayans and a Taiwan Chinese were arrested during the raid.

Now even more horrible reports are appearing.

The Paraguayan investigator Angel Campos declared that most of the children, wheedled away from their parents with various pretexts and promises and adopted by wealthy families, end their lives in organ banks, where they are taken for organ transplant operations.

This declaration by the investigator aroused the indignation of Clyde Taylor, the U.S. ambassador in Asuncion. He said that the declaration by the Paraguayan Angel Campos was based on publications of...the Soviet press, in particular IZVESTIYA and PRAVDA, which are "pouring oil on the flames."

One should say that this is not the first report of this type of danger threatening children. My archives include material from 1987. Videla, the head of the Honduran National Council on Social Security, declared to the press that "many couples have come to Honduras to adopt a child with physical defects. It is suggested that these are noble people. But time has shown that they adopt children only to sell them for parts."

The ambassador probably has his reasons to impede the spread of information about the trade in children. But as for the idea that in Stroessner's Asuncion a Paraguayan policeman had read IZVESTIYA or PRAVDA, perhaps after his morning coffee, and then repeated something of what he had read—that took some thinking. Obviously there is one desire: to somehow or other compromise the investigator. It is unfortunate that political considerations have hidden from the U.S. ambassador the great danger hanging over children from poor countries and poor families....

Soviet 'Misinformation' Denied

PM2510154588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 25 Oct 88 p 7

[Article by Gennadiy Gerasimov under the "World as of Tuesday" rubric: "Around the 20th Century Child Dealers"]

[Text] The European Parliament has passed a resolution denouncing the practice of using children from Latin American countries for organ transplants for children in the United States.

Richard Shifter, U.S. assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian problems, has sent the European Parliament a letter of protest which admits the actual fact of the existence of latter-day child dealers. Shifter writes: "The resolution is obviously based on the regrettable fact of the activity, in Latin American countries and elsewhere, of organizations which take in children, bought from their parents, and try to sell them for adoption in the United States and other developed countries." Shifter then stresses that "such actions are illegal in the United States and violators are punished."

We could end the matter here, denouncing, with Shifter, the trading in children.

But it turns out that this terrible story affects us since, as U.S. State Department spokesman Charles Redman announced 19 October, the United States is "concerned" at the continuing program of "misinformation," whose sources travel to the United States through "a Soviet front organization."

And Shifter writes in his letter: "It is clear that glasnost and the new thinking have not yet reached those parts of the Soviet Government responsible for disseminating such terrible and incorrect interpretations as the material used in the European Parliament resolution."

Yet the Soviet Union has nothing to do with this story. In seeking its sources, WASHINGTON POST observer John Goshko wrote 27 August that reports on the 20th century child dealers first appeared in Honduras early last year. They came from a high-ranking government representative, Vilyeda Bermudes [name as transliterated]. Later he specified that he had made no accusations but was merely mentioning unconfirmed rumors. On 5 April 1987 a small appended note on the subject appeared in PRAVDA—with the relevant references.

But later the topic was raised in completely different places. For instance: in a REUTER report 7 August this year from Asuncion in Paraguay. On 16 August THE JERUSALEM POST published a long AFP report which states in particular: "A lawyer and two women were arrested on Friday in Puerto Stroessner in Paraguay and charged with trying to sell five children.... These arrests have increased the number of children saved in Paraguay to 14 in 2 weeks.... Judge Angel Kampas [name as transliterated] stated that the children were intended for the United States, where individual organs might have been taken from them and passed on to a bank for these organs for later transplantation into American children."

This is all terrible and merits the most resolute denunciation, but what has the Soviet Union got to do with it? Why is the U.S. side trying to accuse the Soviet mass media here and not THE JERUSALEM POST, AFP, or REUTER? Incidentally, as far as I know the information from THE JERUSALEM POST has not been reprinted in our country. And, ultimately, what has the U.S. Administration got to do with it? After all, no one has hinted anywhere that the child dealers have official blessing.

But unfortunately there are evil and selfish people everywhere.

So let's express indignation together and not, as we used to, seek in Honduras or Paraguay the shadow of the Soviet "misinformer."

Soviet-American Import-Export Company Created

LD1910100088 Moscow TASS in English 0623 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Washington October 19 TASS—TASS correspondent Stanislav Lunev reports:

An agreement on the founding of a mixed American-Soviet company was signed here on Tuesday by representatives of the all-union association Sojuzplodoimport of the USSR State Agri-Industrial Committee and the Cleveland Export-Import Trade Corporation.

The American-Soviet company which got the name of 'Torg-International' will deal with the purchase and sale of the Sojuzplodoimport-exported products in North America.

Under the agreement, 51 per cent of the joint capital of the new company will belong to the American side and 49 per cent of it to the Soviet side.

Mr Model, general director of the Cleveland Export-Import Corporation, has pointed out in an interview with the TASS correspondent that it is precisely due to the restructuring process in the Soviet Union that an opportunity to found such a mixed firm arose. The atmopshere of mutual trust which has been created as a result of the development of relations between the USSR State Agri-Industrial Committee and American companies became an extremely important factor which contributed to reaching the agreement.

The management of our firm, Mr Model said, is gratified with the fact that we promote broader trade between the Soviet Union and North America.

Soviet-American Publishing Venture Set Up

PM2110102188 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Oct 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "What Is 'Sovaminko'?"]

[Text] A press conference devoted to the establishment of the Soviet-American enterprise "Sovaminko" was held at the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade 13 October. The new enterprise comprises the U.S. firm Unicorn Seminars Inc., whose chairman is the prominent businessman Martin Lopata, and on the Soviet side —the "Mir" Publishing House, the USSR Ministry of Culture's "Rekord" Creative Association, and the Moscow cooperative "Sintez." T. Golenpolskiy has been appointed director general of the new enterprise, and V. Kartsev, director of the "Mir" Publishing House, is board chairman.

The first international enterprise comprising state and public organizations, a cooperative, and a foreign company has been set up in our country. The enterprise will produce brochures, booklets, and other printed material and sell U.S. books and journals in the USSR and Soviet publications in the United States. Orders from both Soviet and foreign organizations, institutions, and private citizens will be accepted.

"Sovaminko" is also planning to engage in advertising Soviet musical art abroad. There are plans for work in other spheres.

Northeast Asia

DPRK, ROK Talks Prove 'Fruitless'

PM2010140588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Oct 88 Morning Edition p5

[Correspondent V. Lukashin report: "Fruitless Dialogue"]

[Text] Pyongyang— When it became known that there was to be another scheduled meeting—the fifth to date—between DPRK and South Korean representatives to prepare an interparliamentary conference on the problems of reunifying the country, hopes were kindled: "Perhaps this time the deputies will finally get down to the problem that has troubled all Koreans for so long, and without any popous speech making.

The meeting was set to begin 13 October. Not the luckiest of numbers, but we set off for Panmunjom with faith in something better to come. There are, after all, some good examples: The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan continues; a political settlement of the situation in Cambodia is being discussed; the guns on the Iran-Iraq border have fallen silent.... What if here too, on the Korean peninsula, this year were to be a turning point?

Evidently, many people were thinking along these lines. In any case, in addition to the correspondents accredited in the DPRK, more than 120 American, Canadian, Japanese, and South Korean journalists representing influential organs of the press and leading radio and television companies turned up here, in the demilitarized zone.

The South Korean delegation was led by Pak Chun-kyu, a National Assembly deputy and representative of the Democratic Justice Party (DJP). He was accompanied by four parliamentarians. The guests were greeted with friendliness and great dignity by deputies of the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly led by Chon Kum-chol, senior secretary of the Committee for the Peaceful Unification of the Motherland.

...The popping of bright flashbulbs, the whirr of movie cameras, applause, smiles. I believe that, for many, this was a significant moment: "This is the first time they have shaken hands!"

After a brief ceremony, the correspondents were asked to leave the hall. But the journalists did not mind. After all, the fate of a nation was being discussed! Everyone rushed to the huge black loudspeaker set up in the hall. The journalists waited in silence to hear what the heads of the delegations would finally say.

The DPRK's position was already known, of course. The North has more than once proposed that a dialogue begin at various levels to solve the question of unifying the nation; the conclusion of a peace treaty to take the place of the 1953 armistice; a considerable reduction in both armies; the adoption of a declaration of nonaggression; and the establishment of economic and cultural ties. All this, in the opinion of the DPRK, must be accompanied by a decision to withdraw U.S. troops from South Korea and turn the peninsula into a nuclear-free zone.

The DPRK has also offered interesting proposals in connection with preparing an interparliamentary conference. Unfortunately, as the four previous meetings have already shown, every time the South Korean parliamentarians have reduced the dialogue to procedural disputes and secondary problems. The speech by Chon Kum-chol, head of the DPRK delegation, was businesslike and to the point. He put forward a series of proposals which could galvanize the work of the preparatory meetings by bringing the opening of the interparliamentary conference closer; in the opinion of the DPRK, one-third of all DPRK Supreme People's Assembly deputies and one-half of all South Korean National Assembly members should take part in the work of this conference.

Pak Chun-kyu, head of the South Korean delegation, brought a whole series of far-fetched accusations and claims against the DPRK. With regard to the question of holding an interparliamentary conference, he insisted on the need for it to be formally opened and closed in the

presence of all deputies from the two parliaments, while the discussion of the issues on the agenda should be entrusted to only five or six representatives from each side. The Seoul representative offered nothing more concrete to speed up the holding of an interparliamentary conference between North and South, thereby demonstrating a clear desire to evade the solution of vital problems concerning all Korean people.

The participants in the talks at Panmunjom reached no accords and adopted only one businesslike decision: to hold the next meeting on 17 November on the South Korean side. When the South Korean representatives had left, I asked Chon Kum-chol, head of the DPRK delegation, to comment on the results of the dialogue. He said:

"As is well known, the DPRK approaches the problem of unifying the motherland from a realistic, well-considered stance. For dialogue to be effective, you need trust and respect between partners and, most important of all, a desire for a successful solution to the problem. You have seen how South Korea tries to impose its stand on us and impedes progress. Well, we have patience and endurance. We will wait for the next meeting."

So, the fifth round of talks in Panmunjom has again proved fruitless. The stand taken by South Korea remains unchanged.

DPRK Committee Condemns U.S.-ROK Talks

PM2410161588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "KCNA report"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 23 Oct—The Committee for the Peaceful Unification of the Motherland has resolutely condemned the results of the talks in Washington recently between the U.S. and South Korean presidents, KCNA reported today. R. Reagan's statement that the United States will withdraw its troops from the south of the Korean peninsula only when they are "no longer needed" shows that Washington intends to "occupy South Korea forever as a colony and military base," the statement from the secretariat of the DPRK social organization stated. The committee sharply criticized the position of the South Korean side, which agreed that "it is not yet time to review" the question of a U.S. troop withdrawal.

The committee also rejected the Reagan-supported proposals from No Tae-u, head of the South Korean Administration, on convening an international conference with the participation of the United States, the USSR, China, Japan, the DPRK, and South Korea to discuss the questions of strengthening peace and stability on the Korean peninsula and in Northeast Asia. This initiative is condemned as an attempt to pursue a course aimed at creating "two Koreas."

Korean Army Delegation Meets Military Officials

Arrives 20 October

PM2410151588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Oct 88 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Korean Political Workers' Visit"]

[Text] A delegation of leading political workers from the Korean People's Army headed by Colonel General Yi Pong-won, member of the Workers Party of Korea Central Committee and deputy chief of the Korean People's Army Main Political Directorate, arrived in Moscow on 20 October at the invitation of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

The delegation was met at the airport by Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Colonel General A.I. Shirinkin, Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate Party Commission senior secretary; and other political workers.

A conversation took place on the same day between Army Gen A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, and the Korean political workers in which Fleet Admiral A.I. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, and Col Gen A.I. Shirinkin, Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate Party Commission senior secretary, took part.

Meets With Yazov

PM2610165188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Oct 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Delegation Received"]

[Text] Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, received on 21 October a delegation of Korean People's Army political workers headed by Colonel General Yi Pong-won, member of the Workers Party of Korea Central Committee and deputy chief of the Korean People's Army Main Political Directorate. The delegation had arrived in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, took part in the talk, which was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

The USSR defense minister presented "For Strengthening Combat Cooperation" medals to the members of the Korean political workers delegation.

The talk and awards ceremony was attended by Kwon Hui-kyong, DPRK ambassador to the USSR.

Tours Kirghizia, Kazakhstan

PM2610153188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Oct 88 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Korean Political Workers' Visit"]

[Text] A delegation of Korean People's Army political workers headed by Colonel General Yi Pong-won, deputy chief of the Korean People's Army Main Political Directorate, which is in our country at the invitation of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, arrived in the city of Frunze on 22 October. The guests were received by U. Chinaliyev, member of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and first secretary of the Frunze gorkom. Then the delegation laid flowers at the V.I. Lenin Memorial and visited a branch of the Central V.I. Lenin Museum in the capital of Kirghizia. The Korean political workers visited Frunze Garrison units.

The guests visited the district training center and took part in a Soviet-Korean friendship rally attended by soldiers from various categories of troops. At a tank unit they were familiarized with the course of the training process and with the training material base.

The delegation of Korean political workers was received on 24 October in Alma-Ata by Colonel General A. Kovtunov, commander of the Central Asian Military District. At the district's Political Directorate they had a conversation with Lieutenant General G. Chuchkalov, member of the Military Council and chief of the district's political directorate, who told the Korean comrades how the district's troops are implementing the directives of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and familiarized them with the organization of party political work in subunits and units.

On the same day the Korean People's Army political workers were received by G. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee. During their stay in Alma-Ata, the guests acquainted themselves with the sights of the Kazakh capital and visited the Kazakh Crop-Farming Research Institute and Kaskelenskiy Rayon's "Kamenskiy" stock breeding sovkhoz.

The Korean political workers received a warm reception from the command, instructors, and students at the Alma-Ata Higher Combined Arms Command School named for Marshal of the Soviet Union I.S. Konev.

The Korean military delegation was accompanied on its trip by Colonel General A. Shirinkin, senior secretary of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate party commission.

Okinawans Urge Closure of U.S. Firing Range

PM2610151988 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 26 Oct 88 p 3

[Sergey Kukhar "Commentator's Opinion": "Okinawans Alarmed"]

[Text] The U.S. troop command on the island of Okinawa (Japan) was quickly forced to cancel the latest combat firing at the Camp Hansen test range. Why? The Kin municipal assembly has adopted a special resolution demanding that the Japanese Government eliminate the test range.

This announcement can be called as a mini-sensation, because for the first time since Washington officially returned Japan's administrative rights to Okinawa (16 years ago), the local authorities have most resolutely opposed U.S. presence on the island. In addition, the resolution won approval from deputies after the Americans bombarded a population center during recent exercises. Bullets hit several industrial facilities. It was only by a fortunate coincidence—as it is usual to say in such cases—that no one was injured.

One could, of course, assume that this was all a mistake. Most probably that was the case. But are the local inhabitants any better off for such mistakes? For shooting at the test range takes place with invidious regularity. Moreover, the use of toxins is also rehearsed during the exercises. Who will guarantee that the next "mistake" tomorrow won't turn into a tragedy? The country's progressive forces believe that only official Tokyo can eliminate the constant fear of its citizens.

However, one gets the impression that the Liberal Democratic government turns a deaf ear to appeals from ordinary Japanese asking that they be protected from their dangerous neighbors and that U.S. bases on Japan be eliminated. Note that it is not only a question of Okinawa's inhabitants living cheek by jowl with U.S. Marines. For there are now 120 Pentagon military facilities sited on Japanese territory! Is it worth mentioning that each one of these facilities is fraught with potential danger to the population centers around it and to the lives of hundreds and thousands of people?

"We feel as if the war hasn't stopped around us," a Kin inhabitant stated in an interview. I think that there are no grounds not to believe these words.

Near East & South Asia

Najibullah Addresses PDPA Plenum

LD2410224588 Moscow TASS in English 2159 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Kabul October 25 TASS—Najibullah, general secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) Central Committee, speaking at the plenary

meeting of the Party Central Committee on October 19, dwelt on the positive elements in the activity of the party and the state in the current year.

He noted that this year had witnessed loya jirga, the elections to the National Council, parliament of the republic, the signing of the Geneva agreements and the completion of the first stage in the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. All this, Najibullah stressed, was effected in line with the national reconciliation policy.

The USSR extends vast economic aid to Afghanistan. The whole world got an opportunity to see for itself that the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan scrupulously fulfill the provisions of the Geneva agreements—the Soviet troops were withdrawn strictly according to the timetable. Soviet units remained only in six Afghan provinces. The USSR's disinterested aid is not halted with the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops, Najibullah said, in part.

Dwelling on the situation inside the country, the speaker stressed that the past four months were complicated for the country's armed forces which were forced to conduct defensive operations in the entire territory of Afghanistan. All combat operations are now carried out without the involvement of Soviet troops. At the same time, the strength of the personnel of the armed opposition formations has doubled over this time, the general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee stressed. One should not, however, dramatize the situation.

In this connection Najibullah noted that following the withdrawal of Soviet troops the necessary measures were taken to ensure the security of cities, and a good deal had been done to strengthen garrisons' defence capacity. At the same time, errors were committed, among them, underestimation of the enemy. The obtained situation is to be soberly evaluated now and the necessary military and political measures taken.

This is prompted, first and foremost, by the fact that the die-hard opposition keeps speaking the language of arms with us even after Geneva, Najibullah stressed. If for the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan the Geneva accords were enacted into law, for the United States and Pakistan they became an instrument of broadening interference in our country's internal affairs. The United States, a guarantor of the agreements, did not cease the shipments of large batches of weapons from Pakistan to the opposition formations.

We intend to approach the U.N. Security Council with the demand that it consider the question of the threat to Afghanistan's territorial integrity, which formed as a result of outside interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign country.

It is just in time now to sound the alarm over the violations of the Geneva agreements, the tragic fate of Afghan refugees in camps in the territories of Pakistan and Iran. These states, which our neighbours [as received], create logjams to the return of refugees to the homeland and in so doing they have recourse to blackmail and direct threats, concerning which we repeatedly approached the USSR and the United States as guarantors of the Geneva agreements, and also the U.N. secretary-general.

We propose organising a U.N.-sponsored international conference to consider the status of Afghanistan as a non- aligned and neutral state. We also propose that this conference elaborate a programme for international assistance to the cause of Afghanistan's socio-economic advancement, the speaker said.

Najibullah also declared for forming a government on a broad coalition basis to involve all political forces—the government which could draw all parties in a dialogue, in the convocation of a peace conference on a ceasefire, and in the efforts to work out a mechanism to monitor ceasefire compliance.

Our military doctrine is utterly defensive, Najibullah said. The principal task in defence is assigned to our armed forces which have trained officers and men and modern weapons. They number 500,000 and discharge mostly the guarding and defensive functions. Their command exerts efforts better to organise combat operations under such circumstances.

And still the main attention should be focussed on the steady implementation of the national reconciliation policy, Najibullah stressed. There is no and cannot be an alternative to it, we are duty bound to compel the opposition to move to reconciliation.

Najibullah Addresses Kabul Islamic Conference

LD2410185088 Moscow TASS in English 1750 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 24 TASS—TASS news analyst Valer'y Vavilov writes:

The ulema and clergy of the Republic of Afghanistan adopted a call to all Moslems of the world. The call says it is the duty of all the faithful to put an end to the criminal extermination of innocent Afghan Moslems.

This topical call sounded at the international Islamic conference held in Kabul under the watchward: "The call of Prophet Muhammad for peace and social justice". Indeed, it is necessary to take urgent measures to stop the fratricidal war in which hundreds of Afghans are killed, their homes ruined, pastures and crops destroyed.

The Kabul government has long been acting in the spirit of this call. It attaches much importance to religious programmes. This is shown, specifically, by such facts:

For the first time in the country's history the ministry for Islamic Affairs was formed In Kabul, the Islamic University was opened, some 5,000 clergy participated in the work of the council of ulema and clergy at different levels all over the country. As many as 324 mosques were built in Afghanistan in the past few years, whereas 1,257 mosques were restored and modernised. And the very policy of the Kabul government—the course at national reconciliation, at solving of all internal problems through peaceful means, by negotiations with all groups, including representatives of "intransigent" armed opposition, is in keeping with the essence of this call for peace and social justice.

What is it that interferes with the implementation of these ideas? Over the years that have passed since the April revolution, Washington and Islamabad had done much for unleashing an armed conflict—in the region. Deplorably, this anti-Afghan activity has not been ended even after the signing of the Geneva accords. Washington continues to supply units of armed opposition with weapons, including most up-to-date rocket complexes, and allocates large funds for the organization of anti-Afghan activity, sends American experts to train commandos. Almost daily commandos fire rockets and shells at streets, squares, bazaars of Afghan cities and villages, sowing death and destruction and increasing the list of victims of pointless bloodshed. This list includes some 2,000 clergymen. More than 300 mosques were destroyed.

Pakistan's stand essentially has not changed after the signing of the Geneva accords. Grossly violating these agreements Islamabad permits the so-called "transitional government of Mojaheeds" to stay on the Pakistani territory, encourages their activity of the "Peshawar Seven" rendering substantial support—moral, financial and military—to units of commandos.

Addressing the Islamic conference, President of the Republic of Afghanistan Najibullah called again for a constructive dialogue with the opposition in Kabul or in one of Islamic countries, for instance in Saudi Arabia. Representatives of 25 Islamic states that participated in the conference hold that such a meeting in Mecca could promote the establishment of peace on Afghan soil.

Afghan Rebels Plan Economic 'Sabotage'

PM2110100588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Dispatch by own correspondent D. Meshchaninov: "Afghanistan: 'Intransigents' Supplied With Stingers, Poisoned Knives, and Fake Banknotes by Their Western Sponsors"]

[Text] Kabul—The armed opposition continues to do everything it can to destabilize the internal political situation in Afghanistan and thwart the state authorities' attempt to find compromises to end the fratricidal bloodshed.

The "intransigents" stop at nothing to achieve their ends. Detachments of the Islamic Society of Afghanistan, for example, have shipped poison pills from Pakistan into Laghman Province for use against Afghan Army personnel and civilians who refuse to support the opposition course of continuing the war against their own people.

Another example. It has become known that opposition leaders have decided to carry out very large-scale financial sabotage in the near future. It is planned to send banknotes worth 4 billion afghanis into Afghanistan and buy up food and essential industrial goods in certain provinces to create an acute shortage. It is also planned to conduct subversive operations to make it difficult to supply essential goods to those regions of the country and thereby incite civilians against the state government.

The armed opposition's inhuman activity is wholly supported and subsidized by Western sponsors. The range of supplies is extensive, ranging from modern American Stinger antiaircraft missiles to fake banknotes and booby traps, which primarily cripple children. Military advisers continue to be sent to the detachments of "intransigents" for the purpose of planning acts of sabotage and terrorism and combat operations against government troops

There are reports that a group of advisers carrying FRG citizens' documents recently joined up with formations led by Turan Ismail [name as published], who is operating in the vicinity of Herat and makes no secret of his plan to completely subjugate the entire province to his influence after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the area. They delivered several modern radio transceivers, special knives containing poison capsules, and a considerable sum of Afghan money.

According to competent republic organs, representatives of the U.S. special services have given opposition leaders entrenched in the Pakistani city of Peshawar $165 million in cash and large consignments of weapons and supplies.

While declaiming their desire to establish peace in Afghanistan the "intransigents'" sponsors are actually fueling the flames of fratricidal war.

New Algerian Constitution Deepens Democratization

PM2510085588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent A. Portanskiy dispatch: "Algeria: Review of Constitution in Preparation"]

[Text] Algiers—A draft review of the constitution which is to be submitted to a nationwide referendum 3 November has been published in Algiers.

According to the 1976 Constitution which is in force at the moment, all power is in the hands of the president of the Republic, who is simultaneously head of government, supreme commander in chief of the Armed Forces, minister of defense, and secretary general of the National Liberation Front Party. The government, which is appointed by the president, is responsible only to him.

The essential and principal provision of the submitted draft is the division of power between the president and the prime minister. While retaining important prerogatives of state power—specifically the post of supreme commander in chief and the control of foreign policy—the president is to delegate a substantial part of his former functions to the new head of government—the prime minister. Appointed by the president, the prime minister will be fully responsible to the People's National Assembly where he will deliver the program of the government which he forms. The deputies can submit a vote of no confidence in the government and thus bring about its resignation. In this event a new cabinet of ministers is formed. If the new cabinet does not receive a vote of confidence either, then the People's National Assembly is dissolved and parliamentary elections have to be called within 3 months.

The proposed amendments also guarantee a more effective opportunity for people to express their will by means of a referendum than the current edition of the Constitution.

And so the agenda of the new stage of social development in Algeria features a deepening of the democratization of political life, releasing the people's creative potential, and abolishing the monopoly on decisionmaking. It is these large-scale, radical political changes which are called upon to pave the way toward the implementation of pressing economic reforms aimed at overcoming the country's acute socioeconomic problems which have accumulated.

Miltary Academy Chief on Mideast Setup

TA2610092988 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 26 Oct 88 p 2

["Exclusive" report by Daniyel Dagan]

[Text] Moscow—Militarily, Syria is a powerful country. The training level of the Syrian Army is high and it is well armed. Damascus' strength should not be underestimated, General Viacheslav Gordiyenko [name as published], the commander of the military academy in Moscow, said in an exclusive interview to HA'ARETZ.

In the interview, which took place at the Malinovskiy Military Academy, the three-star general added: "The Syrians have learned from past experience and are making intense preparations for any eventuality in which they might be called upon to put their military might into operation. I have spent a lot of time in Syria, and I know that Army very well."

The academy trains senior officers in the Soviet Armored Corps and officers from friendly countries, including Syria, who come here for studies and training programs. The academy is considered one of the most important in the Soviet Army.

When Gordiyenko was asked to evaluate Israel's military strength, he said: "I am not very familiar with the subject, but we know a lot about the IDF, and I have no doubt that Israel has a good and well-trained Army. Nevertheless, the Israeli-Arab dispute cannot be solved militarily. The only solution is a political one, meaning an attempt to reach an agreement with the Arab neighbors."

[Dagan] You have observed the Merkava tank in action. What is your evaluation of this tank?

[Gordiyenko] There is no doubt that it is a good tank.

[Dagan] What is your view on positioning the engine in the front of the tank?

[Gordiyenko] It has advantages and disadvantages. It is not something new. We also have armored vehicles in which the engine is positioned in the front. I do not accept the Israeli explanation that placing the engine in the front part of the vehicle helps to protect the lives of the crew. I saw Merkava tanks going up in flames. What is important is the armor, including protection for the engine. If the engine is damaged, the entire tank burns. What is important is the structure of the entire vehicle and interaction between the components.

[Dagan] Do you think a tank like the Merkava is unsuitable for use in the Red Army?

[Gordiyenko] I have already said that the Merkava is a good tank from a technical point of view and for its ability to withstand fire. I regard it as an experiment with certain advantages and interesting points. Use in the Soviet Army? Because we are developing the friendship between us, we should aspire to fewer tanks in the USSR, Israel, and everywhere else.

East Europe

CSSR's Adamec To Visit End of October

LD2610153288 Moscow TASS in English 1508 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—Chairman of the Czechoslovak Government Ladislav Adamec, member of the Presidium of the Communist Party Central Committee, will pay a brief working visit to the Soviet Union late in October- early in November.

Polish Premier Rakowski Ends Visit

Seen Off by Ryzhkov

LD2110174588 Moscow TASS in English 1726 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 21 TASS—Mieczyslaw Rakowski, member of the Politburo of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee and chairman of Poland's Council of Ministers, left Moscow for home today.

He was in the USSR on a friendly working visit.

At the airport, Rakowski was seen of by Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

Joint Communique on Visit

LD2110224788 Warsaw PAP in English 2119 GMT 21 Oct 88

["Joint Polish-Soviet Communique (Abridged)"—PAP Headline]

[Text] Moscow, Oct. 21—On October 21st, 1988, PUWP CC Political bureau member, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, paid a short, working visit to the Soviet Union.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski was received by and conducted talks with the CPSU CC General Secretary, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Mikhail Gorbachev.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski held talks with CPSU CC Political Bureau member, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Nikolay Ryzhkov.

During the talks the head of governments devoted most of their attention to a discussion of the current problems of Polish-Soviet cooperation and perspectives of its development.

Nikolay Ryzhkov informed Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski about the practical steps for the implementation in life of the restructuring in the Soviet Union and the realization of the solutions of the 19th all-union party conference. Presented in detail were undertakings being made by the Soviet leadership aimed at the further realization of the political reform, the improvement of the structure of the party apparatus, the development of Leninist principles of wielding power. It was stressed that an important goal in the process of the revolutionary renewal of the country was the decided move away from the administrative-command methods of governing society, the reinstatement of the real wielding of power by the soviets of people's deputies of all levels, the raising of the political activeness of the masses, the acceleration of the improvement of the people's working and living conditions, the realization of the social reorientation of economic policy.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski presented in detail the complex course of the process of socialist renewal and democratization of Polish society, the efforts being made aimed at creating an all-national patriotic coalition for giving support to the economic reform and political system. In the framework of the plan of the consolidation and development of the national economy for 1989-1990, which is currently being worked out, the Polish leadership devoted their main attention to issues of the faster healing of the economy, the raising of the population's standard of living, the acceleration of scientific-technological progress.

Both sides said with satisfaction that Gorbachev's official visit to Poland in July 1988 was an important stage in Polish-Soviet relations. Actions to implement decisions reached by both sides as a result of the visit are currently taken.

During the talks, both sides thoroughly examined the present state and prospects for Polish-Soviet cooperation in the economy, science and technology, and said that Polish-Soviet cooperation reached an increasingly high level and got enriched with new contents.

The convergence of the main goals and directions of socialist renewal in Poland and restructuring in the USSR is an objective foundation for the development of cooperation on a qualitatively new state. This opens up possibilities to supplement traditional commodity exchange with modern forms of mutual cooperation in production, science and technology. Both sides agreed that an improvement in the mechanisms of direct cooperation, the functioning of joint ventures and other forms of joint action would be completed in the shortest possible time.

Both sides paid much attention to prospects for Polish-Soviet relations whose main directions will be defined in a concept of Polish-Soviet cooperation in the economy, science and technology for the period of 15-20 years.

Both sides stressed great importance attached to further consistent implementation of the declaration in cooperation in ideology, science and culture which will promote further rapprochement of our peoples and their mutual spiritual enrichment. The Polish side voiced satisfaction over the creation in the USSR of conditions for the operation of cultural and educational associations affiliating Soviet citizens of Polish origin.

The heads of governments exchanged views on current problems of improving multilateral cooperation and socialist integration within the framework of CMEA.

Reviewing international problems, the sides expressed full unity of views on key questions of world politics, readiness for close coordination of efforts in foreign policy aimed to create a universal system of peace and security.

Poland and the Soviet Union are firm supporters of an essentially decreased level of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals. They attach significant importance to the implementation of the package of proposals put forward by allied states during the Warsaw meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, to the promotion of initiatives presented by respective socialist states. The Soviet side will continue to actively favour the implementation of the programme of reducing armaments and increasing confidence in central europe, known as the "Jaruzelski plan".

Poland and the Soviet Union express deep interest in a further development of the all-European process on all planes and confirm their striving to favour, in all respescts, the adoption of a concise and balanced final document at the Vienna meeting in the near future.

In the course of the talks, it was stressed that the inviolability of territorial and political realities in Europe, shaped as a result of the Second World War and post-war development, is a necessary condition for maintaining a lasting peace and security on our continent.

Both sides expressed their readiness to deepen and expand cooperation on the international arena in the interest of the preservation and consolidation of peace in the entire world.

The talks passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski invited Nikolay Ryzhkov to pay an official visit of friendship to Poland. The invitation was welcomed with satisfaction.

Jaruzelski Gives Address on Socialist Renewal

PM2510185088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report on W. Jaruzelski 24 October speech to the "All-Poland Workers' Aktiv" conference in Warsaw: "Speech by W. Jaruzelski"]

[Text]Having embarked upon the road of socialist renewal, Poland should proceed along it boldly and resolutely, Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, president of Poland's Council of State, said in a speech at an all-Poland meeting of workers activists. Not a single new social system was created smoothly, without problems. One should bear in mind that everything that we are concerned with now is not the fault of socialism but is the consequence of both objective causes and subjective errors made in the process of building it.

The Polish leader noted the major successes achieved in recent years in the sphere of policy, democratization, the consolidation of Poland's prestige in the international arena, and the strengthening of the exceptionally important and favorable relations with the Soviet Union, with which Poland has particularly close links.

W. Jaruzelski pointed out that in addition to that there has been a sharp worsening of the problems and difficulties in Poland this year. The task is to eliminate them as quickly as possible. He emphasized the need to renew party ranks. That currently is the crucial task facing the PZPR Central Committee and all party links. The upcoming party ideological-theoretical conference and conference of PZPR delegates should be important milestones on that path. The PZPR will continue to evaluate its work honestly and be even more exacting toward its members who hold leading posts in the party and administrative apparatus and in sociopolitical organizations. On the other hand, it will not capitulate either in the face of difficulties or adversaries. The party must wage a tireless struggle for its positions and its prestige and show working people by its deeds that it is close and necessary to them.

The supreme goal of socialist building is to ensure an increasingly high standard of people's life. This means the harmonious combination of economic efficiency and the realization of socialism's humanitarian goals—a combination which is so hard to attain. The best argument that this goal can be realistically attained is provided by the very considerable experience of advanced regions, enterprises, and organizations already accumulated and which may be termed socialism's hallmark.

Touching upon the question of organizing a round-table meeting, the Polish leader emphasised that it was of exceptional importance. The idea of pooling the efforts of all people is the fundamental plank of party policy ever since its inception. There are various approaches in Polish society to many issues. It is very difficult to approach a solution to the key problems of the present and the future in an atmosphere of discord which begets aggression and anxiety as well as pessimism and apathy.

It is essential to reach accord and to draw oppositionally-minded patriotic forces and circles, which respect the principles of the socialist system and which are now in the background, into active social life and into participation in various forms of administration. This strategic line is prompted by historical experience and by the need to utilize the entire social potential in the interests of attaining Poland's major objectives.

The policy of social renewal, reforms and concord is irreversible. At the same time various kinds of excesses, actions imbued with the spirit of confrontation, and attempts at organizing strikes on the eve of a round-table meeting give rise to legitimate concern.

Not a single big Polish problem can be resolved by means of force. To resort to force is an extreme measure. However, we shall resort to such steps without hesitation in case of attempts to destabilize and overthrow the socialist state.

We should act primarily through reasoning and on the strength of facts, and pursue such an economic policy which would be approved by people. This would determine the degree of public support, the course of further solution to problems, and the strengthening of socialism, Wojciech Jaruzelski pointed out.

West Europe

Further on Visit by FRG Chancellor Kohl

Kohl Gives News Conference

LD2610130788 Moscow TASS in English 1301 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—"I readily join the opinion of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who described my visit by the words 'the ice has been broken'", Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) has said at a news conference here today.

"From the very outset Mikhail Gorbachev and I regarded as a single whole this visit and the general secretary's reply visit which we expect to be made in the first half of next year", the chancellor went on to say.

"Our joint intention at the talks in Moscow was to focus our attention on specific cooperation projects and to have the first detailed exchanges of views on issues which are central to bilateral relations, European and international politics".

Helmut Kohl pointed out that, on the strength of results achieved in Moscow and a subsequent discussion until Gorbachev's reply visit to Bonn, a joint document should be worked out on the basis of the gained experience to outline prospects for future cooperation. "As far as the present stage is concerned, one can state that we have opened not even a new page but a new chapter and, I hope, with many new pages in the book of the history of relations between the Federal Republic and the Soviet Union", the federal chancellor of the FRG emphasized.

Further on News Conference

LD2610160588 Hamburg DPA in German 1520 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Excerpts] Moscow (DPA)—The Soviet state and party leader Mikhail Gorbachev has agreed in talks with Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl to free all political prisoners this year. Under certain conditions, Bonn intends to help support a human rights conference in Moscow. Kohl announced this today in Moscow at an international press conference at the end of the official part of his visit. [passage omitted]

The federal chancellor drew a positive balance on his talks with the Soviet leadership. They had taken place in an "extraordinarily open, extraordinarily fair, and unusually human climate". Bonn and Moscow considered his visit and Gorbachev's visit to Bonn planned for the beginning of next year as a single unit. A joint document is to be worked out on the basis of both visits. For that reason, there will be no joint communique at the end of the chancellor's visit.

Kohl admitted that differences in fundamentals continued to exist. Here he mentioned the Berlin question and the division of Germany. [passage omitted]

Kohl showed himself to be open to Moscow's proposal of a European summit meeting. This required, however, "thorough preparation and an agreement on themes and objectives". Bonn was expecting Moscow's thoughts on this. Kohl repeated that the European Community would be an open partner also in the perspective of the single market in 1992. He said: "There will be no new curtain straight through Europe." In addition, the chancellor hinted at relaxations in the COCOM [Coordinating Commission on Export Controls] lists of militarily useful Western technology products. He said that the prerequisite, however, was trust.

He praised the seven signed agreements as an expression of cooperation and underlined, in particular, the space agreement. "We are looking forward to a scientist flying as a crew member on a Soviet space mission," he said. Asked about the earlier Goebbels-Gorbachev comparison, he said that part of politics was also the art of presentation. "The general secretary is very successful in presenting policy." During Gorbachev's visit to the United States, "impressive things" were achieved in this connection on both sides. [passage omitted]

More on News Conference

LD2610170588 Moscow TASS in English 1649 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—"One can state today that we have opened not even a new page but a new chapter with many new pages in the book of the history

of relations between West Germany and the Soviet Union," West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl said today at a news conference on the results of his visit to the USSR.

"I readily share the opinion of General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev who said about my visit 'the ice has been broken'", he went on.

The chancellor said that "from the very outset Mikhail Gorbachev and I regarded as a single whole this visit and the general secretary's reply visit to West Germany in the first half of next year".

"Our joint intention at the talks in Moscow was to focus our attention on specific cooperation projects and have the first detailed exchanges of views on issues which are central to bilateral relations, European and international politics", Kohl said.

He pointed out that, on the strength of results achieved in Moscow and a subsequent discussion before Gorbachev's reply visit to Bonn, a joint document should be worked out on the basis of the gained experience to outline prospects for future cooperation.

"We're realistic and optimistic at the same time," Kohl said.

"Optimistic about changes which, in our joint estimate, are emerging at this historic stage, and realistic about remaining differences on matters of principle.

"However, these differences in our views should not block the way to practical and reasonable solutions.

"Consolidating the foundation of trust and building good- neighbourly relations on it has been, and remains, our goal," the chancellor said.

He pointed to the special importance of the agreements on bilateral cooperation in environmental protection and on research and peaceful uses of outer space, signed in Moscow.

"We'll welcome a West German cosmonaut's participation in a flight on a Soviet spaceship," Kohl said.

On economic cooperation, he said "we were unanimous in the opinion that perestroyka in the Soviet Union is opening up favourable prerequisites and promising prospects for it".

Answering reporters' questions, the head of the West German Government expressed optimism about prospects of a forthcoming Vienna conference on reductions in armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

"Both sides believe there are no serious obstacles to the talks," the chancellor said.

Speaking of his personal impressions of the meetings with Gorbachev. Kohl said that they lasted a total of 10 hours and were held in a friendly and highly frank atmsophere.

"I'm very pleased with the climate of our conversations," he said.

"That was not something that goes without saying. That had not been easy to expect, and I'm glad that that was precisely so".

West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Defence Minister Rupert Scholz and other members of the West German official delegation who also took part in the news conference, expressed their satisfaction with the results of the conversations and talks in Moscow.

TV on News Conference Questions

OW2710122688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 27 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who is in our country on an official visit, spoke at a news conference on 26 October. [video shows Kohl, Genscher, other members of the FRG delegation attending a press conference]

Evaluating the results of his visit to Moscow, Helmut Kohl stated that his present visit to the Soviet Union had opened not a new page in the history of relations between the two countries, but rather a new chapter: From the very beginning, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and I have viewed this visit and his return visit to the FRG in the first half of next year as a unified whole, said he. At the Moscow talks we aspired to concentrate our main attention on specific cooperation projects and hold the first detailed exchange of opinion on central questions of bilateral relations, as well as on European and international policy.

Helmut Kohl noted that a joint political document should be drawn up on the basis of the results reached in Moscow and the forthcoming discussions in Bonn, taking past experiences into consideration and containing the prospects for future cooperation. We are optimistic about the opportunities that are in our mutual opinion becoming available to us at this stage, and we are realistic about the continuing differences of views on fundamental issues. However, these differences in opinion must not become obstacles to practical and sensible solutions. Our aim has been and remains strengthening security's foundations and building good-neighborly relations on them.

Touching on questions of economic cooperation between the two countries, Helmut Kohl emphasized that restructuring in the USSR has provided favorable conditions and many promising opportunities.

Optimistically appraising the prospects for the forthcoming Vienna conference on reduction of conventional arms in Europe, the chancellor noted that in both the FRG and the USSR there is a feeling that no serious problems exist that may hinder the start of these talks.

Genscher, FRG vice chancellor and minister of foreign affairs, and other members of the official delegation took part in the press conference. Replies were then given to questions from journalists.

[Report concludes with a series of brief video clips: a hall full of journalists; unidentified journalist asking question in German; and an unidentified journalist beginning to ask a question in English, saying "Can you say at what time during the negotiations the Soviets...." Each clip ends before any question is complete. Moscow Television in Russian at 1800 GMT on 26 October in a similar report in its 'Vremya' newscast adds a video clip of a woman correspondent beginning a question in American-accented English: "If you don't know the number of political prisoners, can you tell us...." The clip ends before the question is completed. Video then cuts to show the rostrum, and Kohl can be heard speaking in German. None of these clips receive Russian translation in either television report.]

Kohl Post-Conference Interview

LD2610230488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2040 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Interview with FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl by Aleksandr Zholkver, Viktor Glazunov, and Viktor Levin—identified by caption—in Moscow; date not given—live or recorded, in German with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] [Zholkver] Mr Federal Chancellor, at today's press conference you mentioned Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's words, the ice has begun to break; you spoke of a new page in our relations. What, in your view, ought to be inscribed on that page?

[Kohl] Before we begin a new page, so that we can make our entry in the book of history, it would be worthwhile dwelling and reflecting on where we started. During my speech at the Kremlin dinner I addressed the general secretary in person and I think I had a reason to do this. Millions of people, both here and in my homeland experience the very same feelings. I recalled the fact that the general secretary's father had been wounded during the war. My brother died at the front. I was 15 years old during the war. The general secretary is approximately the same age as me. We both experienced the horrors of war and both of us, as representatives of our generation, swore that this would never ever happen again.

We want to work for peace throughout the world. And in this difficult time when our children are growing up and our grandchildren will be growing up we don't want the horrors of the past to be forgotten and we want appropriate conclusions to be drawn; so that what was done in the name of the Germans in Russia is not forgotten; so that what happened at the end of the war in Germany, where roads were full of millions of refugees, is not forgotten.

We cannot walk away from our history, but we must overcome our past. We should not pass over anything in silence, but we should open the book of history anew and start from confidence-building measures. I think that an extensive area of activities opens up here, encompassing as it does, disarmament and the policy of detente alike.

Both sides have stockpiled mountains of weapons. A war in our region is no longer possible. It used to be said that war was a continuation of policy by other means. But now a war—the third world war—would mean the end of the world, the apocalypse. A war like that would have neither winners nor vanquished; only a universal destruction would ensue.

That is why we are endeavoring, step by step, to make headway in disarmament. The INF Treaty represented an important step along this path. In several days time the U.S. presidential elections will take place. Subsequently the talks on a treaty to reduce strategic offensive arms should be continued. We do not have any need for chemical weapons either. They should be eliminated. Assymetries in conventional arms exist between both sides—they should be removed. I would not, however, want to talk of arms alone.

Economic ties are also needed to establish trust. During my visit to Moscow there was often talk of the terrible war years. But the history of mutual relations between Germany and Russia goes back 600 years. We have had wide cultural exchanges—Dostoyevskiy and the German philosophers, Shostakovich and Beethoven. In Leningrad in the Hermitage one can see other pictures which recall our links. Exchanges in culture are very important as are exchanges in youth links and exchanges in science. We have long links in medicine and mathematics. I could talk about this all evening, and you know this yourselves. As for economic ties, we have started working out interesting plans. We have ancient traditions going back to Hanseatic times.

There are also other links which unite us. Citizens of German nationality have been living in your country for several generations; there are about 2 million of them. Some of them would like to leave. The policy of openness which is now being conducted in the USSR has raised the possibility of thousands of them realizing this desire and returning to their old homeland—to Germany.

This is a practical implementation of human rights. We hope that those Germans who remain here will be able to return to their old traditions. At one time a Volga German republic existed. During the war it was scrapped. We hope that the Germans living in the USSR will be able to study their language and develop their culture. Mikhail Gorbachev said that they have made no little contribution to the development of this country. They could foster the building of bridges between our countries. Of course, I do not want to interfere in the internal affairs of your country, but I am in favor of respect for human rights promoting the rapprochement of our countries and the strengthening of mutual trust.

[Glazunov] Federal Chancellor, I would like to pursue your idea about economic links between our countries. More than 70 representatives of FRG business circles came with you to Moscow. This puts one in an optimistic mood. Moreover, numerous economic agreements have been signed in Moscow. Can one speak about a new, second wind in our economic relations?

[Kohl] I think that one can indeed speak in such terms; and this is the correct time to do so. I will first talk about us then about you. In 4 years time—and that is not a long time in the development of an economy—by the end of 1992 a single European market will be established. This will be a market for 320 million people. However, we do not want to destroy the borders between countries of the West European Common Market in order to create new trade borders in Europe. We want the borders to be open. We also want cooperation with CEMA. When the FRG held the chairmanship in the Common Market, the first agreements in that direction were signed. We should continue work on this. This will benefit all of us.

Indeed ancient traditions of trade links between Germany and Russia already exist. I have already mentioned the Hanseatic period. A new economic upturn is beginning in your country now. Today I had a conversation with your leading economists about the new economic policy in your country. I found this very interesting. Many things reminded me of the discussions which were conducted at home at the end of the forties in the period of monetary reform. You are now speeding up production of consumer goods and are setting up direct links between your enterprises and our firms. Cooperation and coproduction are developing. All this seem to me to be a sensible, good thing.

Longstanding experience shows that when commercial people lead the way it is always good for politics. When I talk about all this it certainly doesn't mean that I don't appreciate the difficulties that exist. We have completely different conceptions of society. We have different state structures, but what alternative do we have? Either each of us will insist on our own position and believe that we cannot act together—which will not benefit our people—or, as our conversations with the general secretary suggest, we will tell each other that differences of opinion exist on certain questions, but that we will not be insistent about this and will try to achieve what we can in the given specific situation.

I shall cite a few examples. I proposed that from next year, over the course of 3 years, about 1,000 Soviet citizens—students, scientists, and primarily middle managers at your enterprises—should travel to our country every year. Let them study our economic experience; let them talk to our firms and assess what is going on in our country. I am not claiming that everything there is great. But one can always learn something from one's neighbor. Your people would get to know ours, and would live in our families. I think that this would be useful for establishing mutual trust, no less than the development of our economic links.

[Levin] I would like to ask a question on the problem of disarmament. At the Kremlin dinner you talked about the need for arms stability in Europe. Can you say whether this corresponds with the concept of Warsaw Pact countries on mutual arms limitation? And how do you view the whole problem of disarmament in Europe in general?

[Kohl] I presume that both our military groupings are working on this problem. You have already done this in the Warsaw Pact. And now we are working on this in NATO. It is true, we are marking time a little at the moment because the presidential elections lie ahead in the United States and there is no point in taking any decision while we still do not know who is to be the U.S. President. In the next few months, in the new year, NATO will discuss its concept and present it. Then talks will begin between both groupings. We have already taken the first step, which few believed possible. I mean the treaty to scrap intermediate range missiles. This treaty is important, maybe not so much because of the number of the missiles that are being destroyed—although it is good to see missiles being scrapped—but because of its principles and the very fact of real disarmament through the treaty. Other treaties should follow this. I am sure in particular that the new U.S. Administration will also continue talks on a treaty to cut strategic offensive arms by 50 percent.

We also talked about chemical weapons. I think they are awful. We must get rid of them. We should be taking care of this on both sides. As for conventional arms, talks are being held on these in Vienna at the moment. A specific mandate for such talks will be worked out and they should be continued. The FRG Government believes that in conventional armaments there is a balance in favor of the USSR. But I think that at the end of the talks the defensive nature of the military strategy of both groupings must be confirmed. The possibility of a sudden attack must be eliminated and the mutual threat will

thereby be removed. As I have already said, mutual trust is necessary to achieve this. You see, the point is not the armaments themselves but the spirit which directs those armaments.

[Zholkver] You have already mentioned that you regard your present visit to Moscow and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to Bonn as a unified entity. How do you think the time between these two visits should be filled?

[Kohl] We have agreed to discuss and prepare a policy document which will be signed during the Bonn visit. I should like to express my opinion on this matter now, an opinion which has not yet been coordinated with your side.

I believe that both our people and your people need certainty. We are part of NATO and of the European Community. The FRG is a loyal partner to its friends and no one should be in any doubt about this. You also have your partners and allies in the Warsaw Pact and in CEMA. Both sides are now striving for talks between both groupings on disarmament and the relaxation of tension. The FRG and the USSR can contribute to this in our bilateral relations. We shall hold talks on this. We shall maintain mutual contacts. We have already spoken about the image of the book of history. We would like future historians to turn to this period, the end of the 1980s, and be able to say that we gave a positive impetus to historical development. I should also like to use an image which both I and the general secretary used over these last days. We must now plant young trees. We must tend them, and then a forest will grow which will bear good fruits. Perhaps our generation will not harvest all these fruits, but the art of politics consists in taking account of the interests of both our children and grandchildren. If we manage to achieve this I shall be very optimistic. Of course, we hold different opinions on a number of questions. But we are faced with this alternative: Either we speak only in terms of disagreements—and then there will be no progress—or we say frankly and clearly that, for example on the question of the division of Germany, we have different points of view, but we are prepared to meet each other and cooperate in a rational way and create peacetime values.

In 12 years this century will end. When it began there were predictions that it would be a century of reason, a century of children, a century of progress, a century of peace. Unfortunately, in the first half of the century those predictions were not realized. We will work to justify those predictions, if only in the last 12 years of this century.

There are sufficient contradictions in the world, but we must be in a condition to build bridges too.

[Zholkver] Thank you for that substantive conversation. Thank you very much. [video shows Kohl, his three interviewers and another man in the background seated in a room]

Gerasimov News Conference

PM2710150788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Chief Topic"]

[Text] FRG Federal Chancellor H. Kohl's stay in Moscow was the chief topic at the 25 October briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists. The visit of the FRG head of government is not yet over, but its fruits are already visible. G.I. Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, began his address to the journalists by reading out a list of numerous cooperation documents between Soviet organizations and West German firms.

V.A. Yadov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociology, read out the data of a public opinion poll conducted among Moscow and FRG residents on the eve of the federal chancellor's visit to the Soviet Union. The poll was conducted by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociology and a group for the study of voters' behavior in the city of Mannheim.

More than 85 percent of those polled in the FRG and approximately 40 percent in Moscow consider the present state of Soviet-West German relations good or very good. More than 80 percent of FRG residents, according to the poll results, do not believe in a military threat from the Soviet Union. Almost 70 percent of Moscow residents do not believe there is a threat from the FRG.

Gerasimov on Release of Prisoners

LD2610174988 Hamburg DPA in German 1708 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, (DPA)—The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, Genadiy Gerasimov, pointed out late this afternoon that the Soviet Union intended to delete the paragraphs making anti-Soviet activities punishable from the criminal law book in the course of its reform program. However, the release of those prisoners described in the West as political prisoners was not a special theme of the talks during the chancellor's visit to Moscow because it is not a matter for bilateral negotiations. "These issues will be negotiated in Vienna and not in Moscow," Gerasimov added. The people who can reckon with release by the end of the year are around 2 dozen prisoners.

Levin Reports Gerasimov Briefing

LD2610204788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Our correspondent Viktor Levin has just come from the press center of the USSR Foreign Ministry where the press conference of Helmut Kohl, FRG Federal Chancellor, took place and then a briefing by Comrade Gerasimov Chief of the Information Administration of the USSR Foreign Minsitry was held. Viktor Nikolayevich, describe the atmosphere in which the press conference was held, and what did Gennadiy Ivanovich Gerasimov say?

[Levin] The press conference by our guest from the FRG caused great interest among not only the Soviet and West German journalists, but the entire press corps accredited in Moscow. It must be said that from the questions of the U.S. journalists—and they were extremely active—I got the impression that the development of relations between the Soviet Union and the FRG is causing feelings close to irritation for some reason in certain circles in the United States. Judge for yourselves. The FRG chancellor was asked, for example: "Is not the FRG giving too much to the Soviet Union in the economic area, while getting too little in the political?" The reply was entirely correct, but concise. The chancellor said that it was a matter of developing bilateral relations which are in the interests of not only the FRG and USSR, but also all other countries. We must, stressed the federal chancellor, create and develop an atmosphere of trust. However, the U.S. journalists tried several more times to pose questions designed to trip him up, so to speak.

Chancellor Kohl calmly but firmly said that improving relations with the Soviet Union is an act of wisdom. I drew attention to the question from the U.S. journalists because they were noticeably out of tune with the general theme. But let us leave that to the examination of the United States and FRG themselves. Incidentally, the chancellor recalled with the same firmness that the FRG is a reliable partner in NATO and carries out its obligations precisely. In the context of the questions from the Americans, the words were fully to be expected. On the other hand, I do not at all want to describe the results of the talks in only a rosy light. In talking about the results of the talks with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbahcev, Helmut Kohl said that in the view of the FRG, a European Reykjavik—this, as you know, is being conceived as a meeting of the leaders of all European states and also the United States and Canada—a European Reykjavik in the FRG view requires thorough preparation. Thoroughness is, of course, a useful quality, but I got the impression that in this case the chancellor's formula hides an unreadiness of the FRG at present to actively support the idea raised by the Soviet Union.

So our views are identical on far from all problems, but that is natural. It must be assumed that the development of bilateral relations will help the solution of such problems also. It is also worth remembering Helmut Kohl's reply to the question of what produced the strongest impression on him in Moscow. He said that it was the climate in which the talks were held. They—I quote the FRG Chancellor—were typified by extreme frankness and human feelings and, even on the most complicated questions, the talks passed in amicability.

Comrade Gerasimov, for the Soviet side, noted that the summit level talks had borne a constructive nature. There is a quest for ways of ensuring a new quality of relations between the two countries. Like Chancellor Kohl, he quoted the words of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev that the ice has been broken in our relations. So, the evaluations coincide. After the press conference, Chancellor Kohl gave an interview to correspondents of USSR state TV and radio. It will be transmitted on Central TV today at 2325 in the half- time break in the football match for the Cup Winner's Cup.

Gorbachev-Kohl 25 Oct Talks

PM2610101088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report on 25 October talks between M.S. Gorbachev and FRG Chancellor H. Kohl: "Talks in the Kremlin"]

[Text]Talks were held in the Kremlin on October 25 between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Helmut Kohl, federal chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, who is staying in the Soviet Union on an official visit. The talks were attended by N. Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, E. Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, A. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, D. Yazov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR defense minster, V. Kamentsev and I.Silayev, both deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers, K. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, V. Zakharov, USSR minister of culture, F. Morgun, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Environmental Protection, G. Marchuk, President of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Yu. Kvitsinski, USSR ambassador to West Germany.

From the West German side the talks were attended by H.D. Genscher, vice-chancellor and minister of foreign affairs, R. Scholz, defense minister, H. Riesenhuber, minister for research and technology, K. Toepfer, minister for environment, environmental protection and nuclear safety, I. Kiechle, minister of food, agriculture and forestry, and A. Meyer-Landrut, West German ambassador to the USSR.

Participants in the talks discussed in detail questions connected with a further all-around development and improvement of Soviet-West German relations, as well as problems of security and disarmament, mostly their European aspects. It was stressed that the dialogue from both sides developed toward the quest for ways to ensure a new quality and depth of the entire complex of bilateral ties, toward reaching a fundamentally new stage in them, which would be marked by growing mutual understanding, trust and rapprochement.

In this connection the exchange of visits at top level between the USSR and West Germany assumes paramount importance. Relying on everything positive that was accumulated in inter-state relations, top-level contacts are meant to provide impetus to new promising undertakings in the sphere of politics, economy, science and technology, ecology, culture and people-to-people contacts.

Aware that a great deal is to be covered to achieve these goals, expanding the area of convergent views and bridging the sphere of their divergence, both sides positively assessed the talks held. What is all important is to look forward, to rely in reflections and actions on the realities of life, to extend the dialogue to cover newer and newer areas of interaction between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Gorbachev and Kohl were of one mind that trade-economic and scientific-technical cooperation is the backbone of the entire range of bilateral ties. However, it calls for a constant and profound update—the development of new forms of economic interaction and shaping of economic links of new types. A truly steep increase in economic mutual exchange on the principles of a rational and large-scale division of labor is possible only on this road. The importance was stressed of overcoming the economic and scientific-technical division of Europe.

Gorbachev drew the attention of his interlocutors to such promising trends of cooperation as nuclear power engineering, machine-building, electronics and electric engineering, and environmental protection.

An accord was reached on the flight of a West German cosmonaut aboard a Soviet spaceship and Mir orbital station, whose terms will be discussed additionally.

An understanding on modernizing about 200 light and food industry enterprises in the USSR with the participation of West German firms is another important step in this direction. All this combined with the implementation of various economic projects in the USSR involving large- and medium-size firms of West Germany would impart new qualitative parameters to bilateral economic cooperation and stability to it in future.

The expanding cultural exchanges between the USSR and West Germany are also becoming an all the more stable element of bilateral relations and are playing an important part in the elimination of mutual prejudices. Cooperation in the sphere of information and contacts between the public of both countries, including the youth, are growing.

The sides expressed satisfaction over the development of the treaty and legal basis of Soviet-West German relations and over the signing during the visit of a number of new Soviet-West German documents. A further consolidation of this basis during a reply visit to West Germany will strengthen even more the elements of stability in the interstate communication of the two countries.

The sides expressed satisfaction over the establishment of official contacts between defense ministers of the two countries.

Participants in the talks analyzed problems connected with the situation in Europe from the point of view of drastic restructuring of the East-West relations and the modernization of the European politics as a whole. They emphasized a special significance of the talks on conventional armaments for a radical improvement of the situation in the continent. In this setting they pointed out the need for concluding the Vienna meeting as soon as possible, which would make it possible to start those talks in the current year. They pointed out as well the significance of progress at talks on chemical weapons.

Gorbachev called attention to the task of a further reduction of nuclear weapons in Europe and emphasized the inadmissibility of any modernization of those weapons, as well as of a compensation of the reduced intermediate- and shorter-range missiles by the deployment of new nuclear weapon systems. The Soviet Union proposes to work for a complete elimination of tactical nuclear weapons in the continent.

We assess the development of relations between the USSR and West Germany not only in their bilateral but also in the European context, Gorbachev said. It is important that these relations not only keep up with the dynamics of positive processes in the world in general, but also stimulate those processes. By actively cooperating with each other, the two countries could play a part of crucial importance in determining the architectural design and in building the all-European home.

Both sides agreed in conclusion that at present there exist all the conditions for opening up a new stage in Soviet-West German relations, for giving them a proper scope, dynamism and perspective.

Following the talks in the Kremlin, Soviet-West German documents were signed.

Attending the documents signing ceremony were Mikhail Gorbachev, Helmut Kohl, and other Soviet and West German participants in the talks.

An agreement between the government of the USSR and the government of the Federal Republic of Germany on cooperation in environmental protection were signed by Eduard Shevardnadze, Fedor Morgun, Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Klaus Toepfer.

Shevardnadze and Genscher signed the first program of cultural cooperation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Federal Republic of Germany for 1988-1989.

An agreement between the government of the USSR and the government of the Federal Republic of Germany on early notification of a nuclear accident and on the exchange of information about nuclear plants were signed by Shevardnadze, Genscher and Toepper.

An agreement between the government of the USSR and the government of the Federal Republic of Germany on preventing incidents at sea outside the territorial waters was signed by Shevardnadze, Yazov, Genscher and Scholz.

An agreement between the State Agro-Industrial Committee of the USSR and the Federal Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Forestry of the Federal Republic of Germany on promoting cooperation of enterprises, firms and organizations in the food industry was signed by Vsevolod Murakhovskiy and Ignaz Kiechle.

An agreement between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Federal Ministry of Research and Technology of the Federal Republic of Germany on scientific-technical cooperation in the exploration and use of space for peaceful purposes were signed by Guriy Marchuk and Heinz Riesenhuber.

Besides, the sides harmonized several statements on intentions on cooperation in specific areas, which will be published additionally.

More on Gorbachev-Kohl Meeting

LD2510155388 Hamburg DPA in German 1504 GMT 25 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—The German-Soviet economic talks on the second day of Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit to the Soviet capital were held mostly in a positive atmosphere. In the afternoon, Kohl and his delegation had a second meeting in the Kremlin with the Soviet head of state and party leader Mikhail Gorbachev. After that several bilateral government agreements were signed. The framework of the DM3 billion credit raised by a German banking consortium led by Deutsche Bank was also signed.

The delegation's talks in the St. Catherine's Hall were attended by the five ministers accompanying Kohl: Hans- Dietrich Genscher (foreign), Rupert Scholz (defense), Klaus Toepfer (environment), Ignaz Kiechle (agriculture), and Heinz Riesenhuber (research), and their Soviet counterparts. Agreements on cooperation for the protection of the environment and on radiation protection, an agreement on cooperation in the exploitation of space, an agricultural agreement, and a 2-year cultural program were among the agreements signed. Scholz signed an agreement on the prevention of incidents involving war ships on the high seas.

Earlier, Kohl and the Soviet head of government, Nikolay Ryzhkov, had a 90-minute talk, during which they drew up a positive balance economic relations. Ryzhkov advocated a relaxation of the COCOM [Coordinating Commission on Export Controls] list which restricts the export of militarily useable technological products to Eastern bloc states. Kohl replied that this topic is being discussed with the allies, and added: "The keyword is trust."

Government Spokesman Friedhelm Ost announced that Kohl tried to dispel Soviet worries about the possible retrenchment of Europe after the unified market in 1992. "We are not closing windows and doors," the chancellor said. Both politicians picked up Gorbachev's remark of the previous day according to which "the ice was broken". Ryzhkov added: "However, it must begin to move." To this Kohl interjected that "in this, the climate in particular plays an important role", and to the Soviet Government head's assurance that one would work toward a favorable climate, had replied in Russian "Yes, yes."

Statement on Gorbachev-Kohl Talks

LD2510181788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 25 Oct 88

[Text] We have just received an official statement. [soobshcheniye]. Vladimir Syshkov will acquaint you with it.

[Syshkov] Talks have been held in the Kremlin between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Helmut Kohl, federal chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany who is in the Soviet Union on an official visit.

Taking part in the talks were Comrades Ryzhkov, Shevardnadze, Yakovlev, Yazov, and other officials. On the West German side, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, vice chancellor and minister of foreign affairs; Scholz, minister of defense; and other officials took part in the talks.

Questions of the further all-round development and improvement of Soviet-West German relations, as well as problems of security and disarmament were thoroughly discussed, mainly from the European angle.

It was emphasized that the dialogue from both sides developed in the direction a search for ways of safeguarding the new quality and depth of the whole complex of bilateral ties, of making them enter a fundamentally new stage marked by a growing mutual understanding, trust, and rapprochement.

The exchange of summit-level visits between the USSR and the FRG assumes foremost significance in this context. Drawing upon all the positive aspects that have accumulated in the relations between both states, the summit-level contacts will give momentum to the new and promising beginnings in the sphere of politics, the economy, science and technology, ecology, culture, and human contacts.

Aware of the fact that in order for these goals to be attained, a considerable path has yet to be traversed, and the zone of coincidence of views must be expanded and the sphere where they diverge narrowed down, both sides gave a positive appraisal to the conversations that took place.

The main thing is to look ahead, to proceed from the realities of life in one's reflections and actions, and to encompass in the course of the dialogue ever new areas of the interaction between the USSR and the FRG.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Helmut Kohl were unanimous that trade, economic, and scientific-technological cooperation represented the bulwark of the whole complex of bilateral ties. However, it requires a constant and deep process of further improvement, of developing new forms of economic interaction, of establishing economic ties of new types. A really steep growth in mutual economic exchange, based on the principles of a rational and large-scale division of labor, is possible only along this path.

The importance was emphasized of overcoming Europe's economic, and scientific-technological division. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev drew his collocutor's attention to such promising directions of cooperation as nuclear engineering, machine building, electronics and electronic technology, and environment protection.

An accord was reached concerning a West German cosmonaut's flight onboard a Soviet spacecraft and the "Mir" orbital station. The conditions of the flight will be discussed additionally.

The accord to modernize approximately 200 enterprises of the USSR's light and food industries with the participation of West German firms represents the second important step in this direction.

All this, along with the implementation of various economic projects in the USSR with the participation of the FRG's major and medium-sized firms will impart new qualitative parameters and long-term stability to the bilateral economic cooperation.

The expanding cultural exchanges between the USSR and the FRG also are becoming an increasingly stable element of bilateral relations, playing a substantial role in the cause of removing mutual preconceptions and prejudices. Information cooperation is growing, as is the number of contacts between the populations of the two countries, including young people.

The sides expressed satisfaction with the development of the treaty-based legal foundation of relations between USSR and the FRG, and the signing during the visit of new Soviet-West German documents. The further build-up of that foundation during the return visit to FRG will strengthen even further the elements of stability in the interstate intercourse of the two countries.

The sides expressed satisfaction with the establishment of official contacts between the two countries' defense ministers.

There was an examination of the questions of the situation in Europe from the viewpoint of the radical restructuring of relations between East and West, and the modernization of the whole of European politics. Emphasis was placed on the special significance of talks on conventional weapons for a radical improvement in the situation in the continent. In this context, the need was indicated for the speediest possible conclusion of the Vienna meeting, which would open up the way for starting those talks in the current year.

Note also was taken of the significance of progress at the talks on chemical weapons.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at the same time focused attention on the task of further reducing nuclear weapons in Europe. He stressed the impermissibility of any modernization of them and of compensation for the reduced intermediate- and shorter-range missiles by means of deploying [razvertyvaniye] new nuclear weapons.

The Soviet Union proposes heading toward a total elimination of tactical nuclear weapons on the continent.

We assess the development of relations between USSR and FRG not only in the bilateral, but also in the European dimension, said Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. It is important for those relations not only not to lag behind the dynamic of the positive processes in the world as a whole, but also for them to stimulate those processes.

Through active interaction with each other, both sides could play a fundamentally important role in determining the architecture and construction of the common European home.

At the conclusion of the talks, the two sides agreed that at present there exist all the prerequisites to open a new stage in Soviet-West German relations, and to give them their due scale, dynamic, and direction for the future.

After the talks, there was the signing in the Kremlin of Soviet-West German documents. Present at the signing ceremony were Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Helmut Kohl, and the other Soviet and West German participants in the talks. The following documents were signed:

An agreement between the USSR and FRG government on cooperation in the area of environmental protection;

A first program of cultural cooperation between USSR and FRG for 1988-89;

An agreement between the USSR and FRG Governments on swift notification of nuclear accidents and on exchange of information on nuclear installations;

An agreement between the USSR and FRG Governments on preventing incidents at sea outside the limits of territorial waters.

Also signed were:

An agreement between the USSR State Agro-industrial Committee and the FRG Federal Ministry of Food, Agriculture, and Forestry on assistance and cooperation between enterprises, firms, and organizations in the area of the food industry;

An agreement between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the FRG Federal Ministry of Research and Technology on scientific and technical cooperation in the area of research and utilization of space for peaceful purposes.

Apart from that, a number of statements on intentions for cooperation in specific areas was agreed on. In addition, these will be published.

Kohl Expects Berlin 'Solution'

LD2510095588 Hamburg DPA in German 0858 GMT 25 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl expects that in German-Soviet relations there will be a positive arrangement for Berlin in the long term. After his talks with head of state and party leader Mikhail Gorbachev, Kohl said on the sidelines of a visit to the German soliders' cemetary in Lyublino before journalists on Tuesday, that he expects that the two sides will move toward a practicable solution while fully maintaining the legal standpoints. This will not be now, he said. However, he believes that a solution for including Berlin in cooperation will be found. "There will be a standard formulation with which we shall be able to live—and that is new."

Gorbachev's remarks concerning Berlin on the previous evening did not surprise him. These, as well as his own speech, reflected the different standpoints. He did not expect to be able to overcome differences of principle. "Neither Gorbachev nor I will be having the final word in history." He has not travelled to the Soviet Union with too high expectations.

The reservations of Federal Interior Minister Zimmermann concerning the, in his view, insufficient safeguarding of Berlin in the environment agreement has not been a subject of the talks. Kohl said with reference to the economic agreements and government agreements with the USSR: "Something has changed." He is highly satisfied with this visit. The talk with Gorbachev was conducted in an open, honest and direct manner.

The talk with Nobel laureate Andrey Sakharov, whom Kohl had met in the FRG ambassador's residence on Tuesday morning, was "immensely impressive" the federal chancellor said. The "quiet power of convictions" and the aura of humanity impressed him.

Defense Ministers' Frank Talks

LD2410171988 Hamburg DPA in German 1559 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—Federal Defense Minister Rupert Scholz has invited his Soviet counterpart, Dmitriy Yazov, to visit the Federal Republic. Defense Ministry Spokesman Winfried Dunkel briefed the press today at the end of a 3- hour meeting between the two ministers in Moscow. He said Yazov had reacted to the invitation positively, but he had not yet accepted it. According to Scholz, Yazov could visit Bonn at the beginning of next year with state and party leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

Dunkel said that the first meeting between a Soviet defense minister with his Federal Republic counterpart in Moscow had taken place in a "good atmosphere." They had talked "frankly" and had "substantial" discussions. Scholz had once again made note of the Federal Republic's worry over the conventional superiority of the Warsaw Treaty. Yazov said that, according to the Soviet view, there is an "approximate balance." Both sides agreed that a mandate for negotiations on conventional arms control must be granted as soon as possible in order to make substantial progress.

After U.S. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci, Scholz is the second defense minister of a NATO country to visit the Soviet Union. On Tuesday he will give a speech at the Malinovskiy Military Academy before he visits the

respected Taman Division near Moscow the next day. During his visit, he will also sign an agreement on the prevention of incidents between warships on the high seas.

FRG, GDR Defense Heads May Meet

LD2610161388 Hamburg DPA in German 1506 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA)—Federal Defense Minister Rupert Scholz no longer rules out a meeting with his GDR counterpart Heinz Kessler. Scholz replied to a question at a press conference in Moscow today that within the framework of the new development such a "contact was perfectly thinkable."

Scholz had met his Soviet counterpart Dmitriy Yazov—first federal defense minister to do so—within the framework of the visit to Moscow by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Scholz described this meeting as a "first contact with the leading defense minister of the Warsaw Pact." Further development had to be "moved along via conferences." "However other contacts are perfectly thinkable," he said. [passage omitted]

Yakovlev Meets Genscher, Others

LD2510183688 Moscow TASS in English 1808 GMT 25 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 25 TASS—Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) Central Committee, received at the Central Committee Hans-Dietrich Genscher, deputy chancellor and foreign minister of West Germany, and had a conversation with him.

They discussed in detail prospects for the development of Soviet-West German relations and possible contributions by both states to the implementation of the concept of a 'common European home' and to the expansion of cooperation in Europe.

The meeting was attended by Valentin Falin, head of the international Department of CPSU Central Committee, and West German ambassador to the USSR Andreas Meyer-Landruth.

On the same day, Yakovlev had a conversation with Alfred Dregger, leader of the CDU/CSU group in West Germany's Bundestag, and his deputy Volker Ruehe.

They discussed, in an atmosphere of frankness, some issues related to the task of fostering mutual understanding between the political quarters of the two countries to promote peace and general European development.

Kohl Visits Monastery

LD2610101188 Moscow TASS in English 0959 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—Today Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) visited the St. Daniel Monastery which is the spiritual and administrative centre of the Russian Orthodox Church and the official residence of the patriarch and the Holy Synod.

Mr. Kohl is currently here on an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet leadership.

Founded in the 13th century, the St. Daniel Monastery is now living through a new period of its history. For the past half-a-century it remained closed and its buildings were not used for their direct purpose.

In 1983, at the request of the patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, the Soviet Government turned over the entire ensemble of the monastery, together with the adjacent magnificent church of the glorious resurrection, to the Russian Orthodox Church.

In all, eight churches and side-altars have been consecrated on the territory of the monastery. Particularly noteworthy are the Church of the Fathers of the Seven Ecumenical, councils (16th century) and the St. Trinity Church built under the direction of famous Russian architect Osip Bove.

Divine service was performed at the St. Daniel Monastery in summer this year in celebration of the millenium of the baptism of Russia. The divine service was attended by guests of honour from many countries.

Kohl Meets Soviet 'Resettlers'

LD2610112088 Hamburg DPA in German 1022 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Excerpts] Moscow (DPA)—Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl met with a group of resettlers in Moscow today who want to start their journey to the Federal Republic this evening. The chancellor said to the group: "We have always lived on the sunny side, and now we want you too, to reach the sunny side." He warned them about having too high hopes and pointed out with respect to the number of resettlers from East European countries "which have shot up" that "there is also a bureaucracy" in the Federal Republic. He asked for "understanding and patience".

Prior to this, Kohl had spoken with official representatives of the German minority in the Soviet Union behind closed doors. It was learned from delegation circles that this meeting was held "in a good atmosphere". Further details were not yet known. [passage omitted]

In the morning, the chancellor visited the Danilov monastery renovated on the occasion of the millenium of the adoption of Christianity in Russia and met there with the Orthodax Patriarch Pimen. [passage omitted]

Kohl Visits Art Gallery

LD2710104188 Moscow TASS in English 1038 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 27 TASS—Today West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and his wife started their last day in the USSR with a visit to the depository of the Tretyakov Gallery. This depository now has the main collection of the Tretyakov Gallery, numbering over 70,000 works of Russian pictorial art.

The depository was set up due to the reconstruction of the main building of this famous museum, which started four years ago. The building was erected late in the 19th century by its founder, Pavel Tretyakov, well-known patron and connoisseur of arts. Now it holds the greater part of works from the collection of Russian pre-revolutionary paintings, including the famous icon "Trinity" by Andrey Rublev, canvases by Tropinin, Perov, Repin, Surikov, Korovin, Vrubel and Kandinsky.

When the old building of the Tregyakov Gallery is reconstructed, these works will be returned to the main exposition which is planned to be opened by 1990.

FRG Officials Depart

LD2610183188 Moscow TASS in English 1800 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—West German officials, who had been accompanying Chancellor Helmut Kohl on his official visit to the Soviet Union, left the USSR today.

The officials include Vice Chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Defence Minister Rupert Scholz, Minister of Research and Technology Heinz Riesenhuber, Minister for the Environment, Conservation and Reactor Safety Klaus Topfer, and Minister of Food, Agriculture and Forestry Ignaz Kiechle.

At the airport, the guests were seen off by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov and other officials.

Radio Analyzes Results of Visit

LD2710150388 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Excerpts] The West German chancellor, Helmut Kohl, is concluding his state visit to the Soviet Union. The results of his visits are analyzed by Viktor Glazunov:

[Glazunov in Russian with simultaneous English translation] It is undoubtedly a successful visit. In its course several dozen agreements and contracts have been signed in virtually all areas of bilateral relations. But the most important aspect of the visit is political. I still remember the coolness relations between the two countries were plunged in 5 years ago, when the decision to deploy American medium-range nuclear missiles on West German soil had been taken. It is indicative that the first official visit to this country by the West German chancellor since those times coincides with the start of the process of eliminating the missiles under the Soviet-American INF Treaty. The situation has begun to improve and it is essential to accelerate this improvement. Both sides view the current visit to Helmut Kohl to the USSR in conjunction with the President Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to West Germany, scheduled for the first half of next year. [sentence as heard] An agreement has been reached to draft by that time a joint political document that will outline prospects for our future cooperation, based on the accumulated experience.

The two sides believe that a new phase has begun in the relations between the Soviet Union and West Germany—what will it be filled with? The dialogue in Moscow has determined the main directions: development of bilateral ties on the path of cooperation in different areas and interaction in resolving the issues of disarmament and greater security, particularly in Europe.

Still there are differences, of course, in the approach to a number of problems. For instance, when the need to eliminate disproportions in the armaments in Europe is mentioned, West Germany dwells for some reason solely on Soviet advantages, ignoring the fact that NATO also has superiority in several types of weapons. The one who has more arms must part with more, but this formula must be applied to both sides. [passage omitted]

The turn for the better in relations between the two nations that occurred in the early seventies became a prominent milestone on the path toward the Helsinki conference on European security and cooperation. Let us hope that the new phase in the relationship between the Soviet Union and West Germany will also have a favorable impact on developments in Europe. [passage omitted]

Moscow Notes 'Disagreements'

LD2710091888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Text] Today sees the end of the official visit to our country paid by FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Speaking yesterday at a press conference in Moscow, he agreed with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's recent comment that the ice had been broken as a result of the talks. In my view, particular attention should be given to the fact that it has been decided to prepare, in time for the forthcoming visit next year to the FRG by the Soviet leader, a political document that is intended not only to sum up

what has been achieved, but also to map out the prospects for bilateral relations. Between our countries there are, of course, disagreements over a number of issues.

Thus, to all appearances, West Germany is not ready at the moment to support the Soviet proposal for a meeting between the leaders of the European countries as well as of the United States and Canada—primarily to discuss a radical reduction of armed forces and weapons on the continent. But the talks in Moscow did not, of course, deal exclusively with military aspects. A number of agreements were reached in the economic, cultural, and other fields, which can only be welcomed.

FDP's Mischnik Notes 'Success'

LD2610124688 Moscow TASS in English 1234 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Bonn October 26 TASS—In the opinion of Chairman of the Free Democratic Party faction in the Bundestag Wolfgang Mischnick, the Bonn ruling coalition has every ground to speak about success of the negotiations which are being conducted in Moscow by Federal Chancellor of the FRG Helmut Kohl and other members of the West German delegation.

The improvement of the relations between the USSR and the FRG, he underlined, is undoubtedly the result of the new policy and the course of reforms being carried out by the new Soviet leadership. But such a development would have also been impossible without West Germany's principled policy aimed at developing the dialogue, with the Free Democratic Party having made its contribution to it.

A whole number of important government agreements were concluded in the course of the visit, it is planned to deepen economic contacts. For the first time in the long period of time West German firms received a big order for the construction of a high-temperature reactor, this being a pointer to their high competitiveness.

Joint Soviet-West German ventures, the involvement of small and medium-size firms of the FRG into cooperation with Soviet associations are of special significance in long-term cooperation, said Wolfgang Mischnick.

FRG Communists 'Warn' Kohl

PM2410195388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Ye. Grigoryev dispatch: "German Communist Party Stance"]

[Text] Bonn, 20 Oct—The German Communist Party [DKP] (FRG) has held a press conference here. Those present were familiarized with a DKP Board Presidium statement in connection with Federal Chancellor H. Kohl's upcoming visit to the Soviet Union. Welcoming his intention to begin a new chapter in FRG-Soviet relations, the DKP Board Presidium notes that the implementation of this goal accords with the will of most of the country's citizens. At the same time, the Communists warn that this intention may be called in question if a new outbreak of the arms race is brought about by further arms upgrading and if the "German question" is repeatedly declared "open" instead of postwar European borders being recognized.

Federal Chancellor Kohl's visit, the statement says, provides an opportunity for Germans to acquaint themselves with the new political thinking that the Soviet Union is proposing to use as the basis for determining the international framework of bilateral relations.

FRG Anti-Fascists Make Appeal

LD2410115488 Moscow TASS in English 1148 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Bonn October 24 TASS—The West German Anti-Facist Union, an association of persons who were persecuted under Nazism, has called on the leaders of the Soviet Union and West Germany to open a new page in relations between the two countries.

A message sent to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl on the occasion of their forthcoming meeting said that the Soviet-American INF Treaty had opened up new prospects for nuclear and conventional arms cuts and gradual transition to the building of a common European home.

After their liberation, the inmates of Nazi concentration camps proclaimed the creation of a free world without wars as their goal. They swore to fight so that a war would never begin from the German soil again.

"We are calling on Chancellor Kohl to contribute, proceeding from historical responsibility, to stepping up the disarmament process and broadening international cooperation," the message issued here said.

The West German anti-fascists said that the Federal Government could give vital impulses to disarmament in conventional arms and emphasized that the overwhelming majority of West Germans genuinely wished to live in peace with the Soviet Union.

Comparison of Gorbachev Interview

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German on 24 October 1988 carries on pages 20-21 an interview with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The DER SPIEGEL report, entitled "Politicians Should Weigh Their Words," has been compared with the Moscow PRAVDA Russian version published in the 25 October Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 25-34, revealing the following variations:

Page 25

Column a

Subslug reads in DER SPIEGEL: ... [Interview with CPSU General Secretary Mikhail S. Gorbachev in the Moscow Central Committee building by SPIEGEL editors Rudolf Augstein, Werner Funk, Dieter Wild, Fritjof Meyer, and Joerg R Mettke; date not given]... (providing editors' names)

Page 26

Column b

Paragraph five, first sentence reads in DER SPIEGEL: ... the improvement of international relations move forward... (supplying word "international")

Page 27

Column a

Paragraph two, second sentence reads in DER SPIEGEL: ... inside their heads; however, they prefer not to show it but ponder over it.

Gorbachev: Yes, that was... (omitting sentence, rewording)

Page 28

Column b

Fourth paragraph, first sentence reads in DER SPIEGEL: ... Augstein: So you are probably paying tribute to me too. We have tried to contribute our share to understanding.

Gorbachev: I think the task of the present generations of politicians and of our peoples in general is to go further and to meet each other, extend cooperation, cultivate respect for one another, carry out exchanges, and eventually move toward friendship between our peoples. This is also the duty of the living toward those who died in that war. All this is a very serious matter. And if anyone starts playing some kind of dirty game, trying to outwit other people—this is dangerous and intolerable, it would be the height of irresponsibility. As I understand it, the task of politicians today is to express the feelings of our countries' people and to improve and widen cooperation. There is no contradiction in that.

Augstein: Debates about Stalin... (supplying alternate version)

Page29

Column a

Pentultimate paragraph, last sentence reads in DER SPIEGEL: ... is complex too.

Augstein: Mr General Secretary, we thank you for this talk.

"That is a Punishment for our Mistakes" [subhead]

Answers given by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev to questions by DER SPIEGEL.... (supplying alternate version) While the PRAVDA version in this section uses the "question - answer" format, the DER SPIEGEL version uses the "SPIEGEL - Gorbachev" format throughout.

Column b

Paragraph seven, from last sentence reads in DER SPIEGEL: ... through widening democratization.

SPIEGEL: Does that also apply to the economy?

Gorbachev: Yes, we took this... (adding question)

Paragraph eight, first sentence reads in DER SPIEGEL: ... economic management methods and put man back into the center of the production process, so that he is the master of the house. That includes giving the labor collectives the right to elect their own leaders.

SPIEGEL: Does that allow the abolishing of industrial management by orders?

Gorbachev: Of course, everyone should live as they work. There should be a balance of rights and duties.

And we also... (supplying alternative version, adding question)

Pentultimate paragraph from last sentence reads in DER SPIEGEL: ... and ethical normalization.

SPIEGEL: What opposition is there to restructuring?

Gorbachev: There are many difficulties. We do not... (adding question)

Page 30

Column a

Second paragraph, from last sentence reads in DER SPIEGEL: ... its right place.

SPIEGEL: Does bureaucracy obstruct restructuring?

Gorbachev: There has been... (adding question)

Third paragraph, from last sentence reads in DER SPIEGEL: ... responsibility and obligations.

SPIEGEL: How much time will the entire restructuring process take?

Gorbachev: It will take a lot of time, and the interim objectives of renewal... (adding question, rewording)

Fourth paragraph, from last sentence reads in DER SPIEGEL: ... that his motion has a constructive objective.

SPIEGEL: What consequences does restructuring have for the Soviet Union's foreign policy?

Gorbachev: Here, too, the ultimate objectives have not been achieved, but there is some progress. When, on beginning restructuring, we took an impartial... (adding question, supplying alternate wording)

Page 31

Column b

Second paragraph, from last sentence reads in DER SPIEGEL: ... it without fail.

SPIEGEL: There is currently an urgent supply crisis in the USSR. What are its causes?

Gorbachev: Your question contains... (supplying alternate wording)

Page 32

Column a

First paragraph, from last sentence reads in DER SPIEGEL: ... care and education.

SPIEGEL: Would the USSR reject a new variant of the Marshall Plan?

Gorbachev: This is not the first time that a "Marshall Plan" for the USSR has been invoked. It is, as I understand... (adding question, supplying alternate version)

Page 32

Column a

Fifth paragraph, second sentence reads in DER SPIEGEL: ... but also for the narrow-minded thinking along the lines of profitability of many of our foreign partners... (supplying alternate version)

Column b

First paragraph, second sentence reads in DER SPIEGEL: ... sell raw materials, we will not sell them at cheap prices. The most important thing is that it will not only be raw materials... (supplying alternate wording)

Third paragraph, from last sentence reads in DER SPIEGEL: ... barriers and protectionism.

SPIEGEL: In what way will the EC single market influence relations with the Soviet Union after 1992?

Gorbachev: Our attitude... (adding omitted question)

Page 33

Column a

Fifth paragraph, from last sentence reads in DER SPIEGEL: ... by common sense.

SPIEGEL: You suggested an all-European summit meeting. What do you want to achieve with it?

Gorbachev: We have developed the idea of a "European Reykjavik," that is... (adding question, supplying alternate wording)

Pentultimate graph, from last sentence reads in DER SPIEGEL: ... in international relations.

SPIEGEL: Are there special relations between the CPSU and the SPD?

Gorbachev: As for... (adding omitted question)

Cooperation Agreements Signed During Kohl Visit

Agreement on Cultural Institutions

LD2410182988 Hamburg DPA in German 1742 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, (DPA)—The Federal Republic and the Soviet Union have affirmed their intention of beginning negotiations "very soon" on setting up cultural institutes. This agreement was reached by Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and his Soviet counterpart, Eduard Shevardnadze, during a meeting lasting over 2 hours in Moscow today.

The spokesman for the Federal Republic's Foreign Ministry, Juergen Chrobog, said this evening that both ministers agreed that the present visit by Chancellor Helmut Kohl to the Soviet capital "represents progress in bilateral relations." Genscher and Shevardnadze stressed that the visit by the Soviet state and party leader Mikhail Gorbachev, planned for the beginning of next year, must be "carefully prepared." Further progress was hoped for from this visit.

Both sides are encouraged by the progress achieved in recent weeks at the Vienna CSCE follow-up conference. It was hoped that the conference could conclude soon.

Industrial Cooperation Treaty

LD2410120588 Hamburg DPA in German 1120 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA/VWD)—On the 1st day of the visit by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl to Moscow the German-Soviet general treaty on industrial cooperation in the planning and construction of high-temperature reactors has been signed. The project for the peaceful use of the nuclear energy, aimed at broad cooperation between the two countries, is worth more than DM1 billion. The German side said today that its participation in this amounts to some DM400 million.

In the first phase the consortium of companies of Asea Brown Boveri AG (ABB) Mannheim, and the KWU division of Siemens AG, Berlin/Munich, is erecting a 200-megawatt reactor by the module construction method in the Niiar [name as received] nuclear research center at Dmitrovgrad on the Volga, some 800 km east of Moscow. In addition, joint realization of follow-up plants to produce current, processing steam and/or heat in the USSR and maybe also in third countries is planned. The contractual partner of the German consortium is the Main Department for Atomic Energy (Glavatomenergo) of the State Committee for Utilization of Atomic Energy. [passage omitted]

Agricultural Agreement Set

PM2610161788 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 26 Oct 88 p 3

[TASS report: "Meeting"]

[Text] On 24 October V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom, received I. Kiechle, FRG minister of food, agriculture, and forestry, who is in the USSR as a member of the FRG Government delegation.

During the meeting there was an exchange of information on agricultural situations and an examination of a wide range of questions of the development of cooperation between the two countries in the sphere of agro-industrial production.

The sides discussed in detail the main directions of cooperation in setting up joint enterprises and organizing production on a collaborative basis. Representatives of FRG business circles Kh. Rau (the "Rau" machine building firm), O. Ekkart (the "Pranni-verke" firm) [names and firms as published], H. Annuss (the "Annuss Fleisch KG" firm), and others actively participated in the discussion of these topics.

During the talks special attention was paid to the draft agreement between the USSR Gosagroprom and FRG Ministry of Food, Agriculture, and Forestry on promoting cooperation between enterprises, firms, and organizations in the food industry sphere, which will be signed in Moscow during H. Kohl's visit.

The FRG minister expressed a wish to visit a number of food industry enterprises and he was granted the opportunity to do so.

The conversation took place in an amicable atmosphere and was of a constructive nature.

German Firms To Sell Nuclear Reactor to USSR

OW2210115488 Tokyo KYODO in English 1139 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] Bonn, Oct. 22 KYODO—A group of West German firms has initialed a contract to sell a 200 megawatt atomic power reactor to the Soviet Union, one of the companies reported Saturday.

Siemens AG said the contract calls for the company's electric power division Asea Brown Boveri AG, to build the pilot plant in Dmitrovgrad, about 1,000 kilometrs east of Moscow.

The contract, valued at 1 billion German marks (about 71 billion yen), will be signed formally in Moscow Monday.

The high-temperature, gas-cooling reactor will be completed in 1996.

The contract will be reviewed by the Coordinating Committee for Export Controls (Cocom), a Paris-based Western group regulating sales of strategic goods to communist nations.

The committee has approved sales of atomic reactors to China by Canada and France.

Siemens officials said the deal could open the way for cooperation between West German and the Soviet Union in a sensitive area.

Latin America & Caribbean

Panamanian Political, Military Situation Reviewed

LD1610212288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 16 Oct 88

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Georgiy Zubkov; B. Myakota video report from Panama City, including interview with Manuel Solis Palma, president of the Republic of Panama, by Myakota]

[Excerpts] [Zubkov] Over the past week people have again been talking about Panama. The reason is the 20th anniversary of the military takeover headed by Omar

Torrijos. [passage omitted, recalling reforms under Torrijos regime, Panama Canal agreement] We have become accustomed to actions by the military in this or that country which led to a harsher regime. In Panama, the role of the military proved to be quite otherwise.

[Myakota] The coup d'etat carried out 20 years ago under the leadership of General Omar Torrijos was bloodless. This can be explained by the fact that the army which came to power had already been a real force in the country. However, one must bear in mind that it was far from easy for the military to gain the keys to power in Panama. The fact of the matter is that under the 1903 treaty imposed on Panama by the United States, this country dissolved its armed forces. It was permitted only to have its own police. This suited the local oligarchy completely, since it saw the best quarantee of its privileges in the U.S. military presence in the Panama Canal Zone.

It was U.S. soldiers who saw to the training of police units. The Panama police gradually turned into a National Guard, then into national defense forces. An interesting peculiarity of reality in Panama, as different from other Latin American countries, was the fact that the oligarchy did not align itself with the top-level officers, and looked down on them as their guard dogs. It is indicative that all the officers in Panama today are, basically, from among the people. There is not a single representative of the bourgeoisie among them, and they make no distinction between their destiny and that of the whole nation. The development of events around Panama has shown that the U.S. Administration underestimated the solidity of the army's position in Panama, and also the fact that General Manuel Antonio Noriega has very many supporters, both among the officers of all ranks, and among ordinary Panamanians. [Video shows cityscape, shots of ships passing through the canal, Noriega reviewing military parade].

In the Panamanian capital, at the (?Garca) palace, Manuel Solis Palma, president of the Republic of Panama, gave an interview for International Panorama. [video of Myakota interviewing Palma, captioned]

[Begin interview] [Myakota] Mr President, at this time, as Panama marks the notable date of the 20th anniversary of the revolution, I would like to ask you about your opinion of the role of the national defense forces in the life of the Panamanian people.

[Palma, in Spanish fading into Russian report] In my opinion, at present the role of the national defense forces in Panama is similar to the role of the armed forces in any other part of today's world, the president says. It consists of cooperation with the civil power in implementing national development plans, programs for liberating the country, and improving social, economic, and political conditions in the country.

[Myakota] Mr President, while we were in (?Rio Ato), we heard ordinary people calling General Noriega the commander in chief of the poor and the general of national dignity. On the other hand, we know about the monstrous allegations put up by the United States against General Noriega. Tell us please, what is your attitude to such completely contrary points of view?

[Palma] Well, everyone judges according to how he feels, as that is in line with his interests. For the poor people of Panama, the position of General Noriega corresponds to their sentiments, needs and aspirations. The poor people reckon that the general defends their interests and the interests of the Panamanian people. The United States has a quite different attitude to the position of General Noriega, since it is quite contrary to their own interests in Panama. [end interview]

[Myakota] [video of parade of volunteer forces, soldiers helping build village houses, volunteers doing assault course training] Yes, the national defense forces today provide the main support for the Panamanian regime. That is why the United States is striving to remove progressively minded military and civilian figures from power, whatever the price, and to replace them with an obedient puppet government. However, the United States has underestimated the strength of the Panamanian military. Nor has it managed to discredit General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander-in-chief of the national defense forces of Panama. Moreover, the residents of poor areas and the strata of the population who have little—who make up about 90 percent of the populace—have rallied even closer around the national defense forces. This is particularly to be seen in the rural areas, where the soldiers, who consider themselves the people in uniform, give local peasants a lot of help.

The leaders of the armed forces encourage the army's activities in the civilian sphere. The Panamanian soldiers perceive their peaceful labor as a most important and natural thing. The formation of battalions of national dignity is evidence of the trust of ordinary Panamanians in the army. They came into being approximately 6 months ago, at a time of the greatest intensification of the crisis between Panama and the United States. Then, when it seemed that U.S. armed aggression against Panama might begin at any moment, thousands of the country's inhabitants started appealing to the government and to the leadership of the national defense forces to be given weapons. Some 8,000 citizens aged from 16 to 70 have already joined these battalions. Alba Iris Castro expressed the feelings of all the Panamanian volunteers after she had taken the oath: Commander Noriega! My motherland! We have gathered here spontaneously and voluntarily to state forthrightly: No to intervention! No to aggression!

Information was recently published in the Panamanian press, from a secret Pentagon report, on the possible losses to the U.S. army were there to be an armed invasion of Panama. According to the reckoning of

military experts, such an aggression might cost the United States 5,000 dead and 18,000 wounded, and the expenditure on the operation would come to almost $2 billion. Of course, these figures go to show that aggression would be no walkover. Nevertheless, it seems to me that the Pentagon experts have not taken full account in their calculations of the strength and capabilities of little Panama, and the resolve of its people, of the soldiers of Torrijos, to defend their homeland, its sovereignty, and independence.

Chilean Communist on Plebiscite Results, Part 2
PY1810212688 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2100 GMT 14 Oct 88

["Second and last part" of interview with Volodia Teitelboim, member of the PCCh Politburo, by TASS correspondent Oleg Kolegnikov in Santiago; date not given—read by announcer; first paragraph is announcer's introduction; "Part One" of interview published in 26 October Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 36]

[Text] A people and a nation whose majority voted to end dictatorship cannot be disappointed. The leftist parties affirm that there are two indispensable elements which, only if used together, will give the country what it calls for. They are: the unity of the opposition, and social mobilizations. We believe that the Armed Forces will be able to create the necessary atmosphere for talks between the Army and the opposition only if the country and the people call for Pinochet's departure everyday. This is the second and last part of the interview Volodia Teitelboim granted to Oleg Kolegnikov, TASS correspondent in Santiago, Chile.

Teitelboim: There are three groups within the opposition from the viewpoint of their political position: the left-wing opposition, which has always struggled against fascism and has its roots in the Popular Unity government, although not all those in the Popular Unity government are members of the left wing today; the center-wing opposition; and the right-wing opposition.

There are two positions from the legal viewpoint. The legal opposition is contained within the framework of the system, has legal status, is recognized, and includes mainly centrist and right-wing parties. This position includes the social democrats, such as the Christian Democratic Party and the Party for Democracy.

All parties that support Pinochet are legal.

Finally, there is another group of opposition parties, which are not only illegal, but also proscribed by the Constitution. They are the Marxist parties, which include the Communist Party, the Socialist Party of Almeyda, the MIR [Movement of the Revolutionary Left], and other leftist groups. These parties cannot register, they are not recognized as political parties, and they cannot have their own candidates. However, they can be persecuted in accordance with Article 8 of the Constitution.

Proof of this assertion is that United Left President Clodomiro Almeida is still in jail. He has been in jail for 1 and ½ years on charges of being Marxist and admitting to being a Marxist. The government considers this to mean adherence to the crimes of class struggle, violent uprising, and illegal entry into the country.

These two opposition groups have voted against Pinochet, but they do not have the same rights and they act in different ways. Those that are legally recognized can open offices; their leaders are not persecuted; and they have access to television, radio stations, magazines, newspapers, and other media. Such access is much more difficult to obtain for us.

There are other opposition groups that are also against Pinochet. Those bourgeois opposition groups propose to change the system gradually from within.

Our immediate concern is the social mobilization of the masses. The left-wing parties believe there are two essential elements that should work together: the unity of the opposition, and the social mobilization of the masses. The center-right parties, the largest group of the 16-party Command for the No-Vote, do not admit the need for total unity, because they exclude the most combative groups, especially the Communists.

Those parties do not like the social mobilization of the masses either. They are afraid, and therefore they prefer the policy of negotiation. That policy calls for negotiating with the regime while the masses remain at home. Their policy proposes to negotiate a transition with the Armed Forces and not with Pinochet.

We deny that we are enemies of a government of transition. We admit the need for some form of transition and, therefore, a dialogue with the Armed Forces. However, we have to ask ourselves: What for? Negotiations for what? So that Pinochet remains in power for another 1 and ½ years, and as commander in chief of the Army for another 9 years? No. Negotiations to maintain the 1980 Constitution, particularly Article 8? No. Negotiations to maintain the system more or less intact? No. Negotiations to return the soldiers to their barracks? Yes. That we can accept. Negotiations to restore democracy? Yes. Negotiations to arrange for free elections? Yes.

We think all this is utopian, at least for the time being. The center-right parties have always believed in a dialogue, but the conditions are not right for a dialogue.

The Interior Ministry has said that nothing would change, that the 1980 Constitution cannot be modified, and that, therefore, Pinochet would remain in power.

The interior minister also said that he was thinking about whether he would talk with the opposition. In turn, the opposition said it was not interested in talking with the interior minister because he is not a valid spokesman. Aylwin said so and added that the opposition is interested in talking with the Armed Forces.

Kolegnikov: This sounds somewhat vague. Who are the representatives of the Armed Forces with whom the opposition should talk? The commanders in chief, the colonels, or who?

Teitelboim: The opposition does not really know. We do not know. But it can be seen that any negotiation with the Armed Forces will be banned by Pinochet as long as he has power to ban it, as long as he maintains control over the commanders in chief, who for the time being support him. Why? Because negotiations will certainly demand his departure. He would have to go. Therefore, Pinochet will steadfastly oppose negotiations. He entrenches himself behind the 1980 Constitution. Pinochet has told the Armed Forces that they must defend the Constitution, that he will stay in power as president until March 1990.

We believe that the Armed Forces will be able to create the necessary atmosphere for talks between the Army and the opposition only if the country calls for talks everyday and the people insistently demand that Pinochet leave power.

At least one sector of the United Left made a statement to that effect. This is important. Other forces have also said so. But there are very influencial people, both centrist and rightist, who are indecisive or who do not think so. They think: Well, very well, we will ask for negotiations. They think that way because they do not consider negotiations and the possibility of adhering to the constitutional timetable to be contradictory. In other words, they begin to talk in electoral terms, thinking of the presidential and congressional elections a year hence. Now, the Pinochet Congress, according to the 1980 Constitution, would contain 120 deputies and 35 senators, a third of whom will be handpicked. Pinochet himself would be a senator, since he is a member of the Government Junta. Well, we are not in favor of accepting this arrangement nor the timetable.

Some people of the center-right, however, are tempted to go along with that proposition. Of course, some of them aspire to the Presidency; others want to sit in Congress. For some politicians, this is the greatest aspiration. Such an aspiration is part of the Chilean tradition. A congress like this would be like the Stroessner Congress, or like the one Somoza had. It would be a controlled congress. It would not be fully representative, because at least one third of the population, the most committed left, will not have the right to nominate candidates. We are not in favor of an electoral solution at this time. If elections should take place, the fact that we are not in favor of an electoral solution in the terms of the 1980 Constitution does not mean that we will not participate. We will participate in anything that can be constructed as part of the struggle against the dictatorship, so as to advance the cause of the people, the nation, and democracy.

I believe that we are interested, above all, in maintaining the unity of the opposition in demanding Pinochet's departure or in curtailing his stay in power as much as possible. We will do all we can to that end. But we will never agree that people should go home and stay there calmly, because the people are the essential actors of history. Without their thrust, organization, and struggle, history will continue its present course and freedom will be in great danger. Freedom, which has not yet arrived, must be fought for if it is to be achieved.

We will continue demanding that Pinochet go, so that he does not work as a wedge within the opposition. There are obvious disputes and differences among the leftist, centrist, and rightist oppositon over the problem of Pinochet's stay in power. Although everyone maintains that Pinochet is an obstacle to be removed, the task calls for tactical finesse and caution concerning relations within the opposition. We are much more cautious than the centrist and rightist sectors. Fifteen years of dictatorship in Chile have established a dangerous conditioned reflex. The anticommunist bell rings, and the center and right immediately secrete anticommunist saliva, not antidictatorial spit. The dictatorial orchestra plays the anticommunist music and the center-right dances to its tune.

I do not know whether those sectors realize this. Sometimes it seems that they do, and sometimes it seems that they do not. In the last plebiscite campaign we witnessed grave anticommunist provocations orchestrated from the propaganda ministry which, although it does not exist as such in Chile, very much resembles Goebbels' ministry. It is known as DINACLOS [Government Social Communications Agency] here. It has orchestrated a campaign of distortions, even about a statement I made. This statement was distorted and tampered with to the point where it had nothing to do with what I said. Sectors of the opposition, however, took the DINACLOS distortion as true and condemned the statement, thus falling into the dictatorship's trap. None of what I said was detrimental to opposition unity. No true oppositionist should be troubled, because I said nothing to hurt the opposition. The oppositionists who fell into the trap played up the distorted statement, because it suited their purpose. They are thinking of putting the Chilean Communist Party aside, because they are thinking of winning votes for the Presidency and Congress from the majority, thus reducing the weight of the PCCh [Communist Party of Chile], which is influential among the people. Moreover, in this whole picture the people have been conspicuously absent; nobody speaks of the people, when it was they who gave the no-vote a majority.

Most of the nearly 4 million votes were cast by poor people living in the slums, workers, unemployed people,

and youths who share the PCCh positions, which are misrepresented as guerrilla, terrorist positions, which is not true.

Our enemy is the dictatorship, not the other sectors of the opposition. We propose unity with all sectors of the opposition. The choice here is between dictatorship and democracy.

All those in favor of democracy, whatever their ideological affiliation, who want an end to the dictatorship and a government elected by the people through free elections, and who oppose the government imposed by force, are our allies.

There are sectors who believe there are two enemies of the country, one worse than the other: sometimes it is the dictatorship, other times it is the Communist Party.

Anticommunism is a disease common in many parts of the world, a disease that reaches a fever pitch in Chile. The plot involves some sectors of the right wing who have agreed to be accomplices of the government's provocations and lies.

Kolegnikov: Do you think the Constitution has to be abolished, or will the PCCh change its name?

Teitelboim: We have not discussed the matter, but the party will continue to exist regardless of its legal status. These are tactical moves that we do not want to talk about in public. It is something we can do, something we have done in the past. We will not renounce the Communist Party as such. What we might do is to support what we call instrumental parties that exist to run in the elections. This is the case of the Party for Democracy. The left could make this move because it must be present at the elections.

Kolegnikov: What are the immediate goals of the left?

Teitelboim: To begin with, we cannot disappoint the majority of Chileans who voted for an end to the dictatorship. Pinochet said that the people have said they do not want him to be president for another term, but that nothing else has changed—the Constitution, the regime, the system, the economic model.

We believe that the people have rejected the regime as a whole, that they have rejected the dictatorial system. The political meaning, decision, and will of the people were clearly expressed. The people want a return of freedoms and democracy, which does not mean they favor a return of the Popular Unity, the Communist Party, or a particular socialist party. No one is proposing this. The people have voted for something very simple: They want Pinochet to leave, democracy to return, and free elections to decide on their future.

The people should elect their government in freedom. We will accept the decision of the people if a majority of them decide to support the Christian Democratic Party. If a majority decides to support the left, all the better, but we are not going to fight for group or party positions. We now want the return of freedoms and to keep people united. We do not want to hear anything about the infighting of small groups or about personal interests. We want to concentrate on what everyone wants: an end to the dictatorial regime.

The PCCh wants to propose a few things we believe should be done. These are concrete proposals, because the no-vote meant a rejection of the system and we now have to see how to dismantle it. Our most important goal is to remove Pinochet and to repeal the fascist Constitution, replacing it temporarily with the 1925 Constitution.

This is only a suggestion subject to discussion, and is in no way a demand. A congress with constitutional powers could also be elected. But these are things that can be discussed later.

We face a very difficult and complex situation because we need to defend the democratic space opened by the no-vote—a small and very fragile democratic space won with great difficulty. An indication of this opening is the government's ending the exile, which allowed us to return. Is this achievement solid, permanent? Will it be respected? Obviously no, because the government has treated many Chilean exiles as second class citizens. Is this only a short spring? The situation is delicate for Christian Democrats, as well as for those on the left. Pinochet can leave Almeyda in jail; the government can continue persecuting Communists—anything can happen.

We also have to protect ourselves against something much more serious: a counterattack attempting to put things back where they were before. This scenario is not probable though, because Pinochet does not have the strength for something so serious. However, some feverish minds might be contemplating the possibility. We are talking about the fascist groups within the Armed Forces. We still have to organize the movement further and strengthen the left.

The United Left is growing despite a relentless persecution because its roots are part of our history. The center and right sectors, under the protection of the government, have also tried to eliminate a left that has been in power twice in the past. The left needs to realize its true worth. The demonstrations it organized were very large. I truly believe that a large part of the support for the no-vote has come from the left.

The left must become independent and stop being a colony of the Christian Democratic Party, or the center, or the right. This does not mean the left has to break the alliance with these sectors. We have to be united on

essential matters. We are the ones that propose a broader coalition; they are always establishing limits to it. The important thing is to continue to struggle for unity and common action.

I think the left should formulate its own program. If Pinochet leaves before what his pocket Constitutions stipulates, something improbable but not impossible, the left will have to know what form of transition it wants. We propose a government of transition, something that has already been proposed and rejected before. We can give the transition any name, as long as it leads to general elections.

Zagladin Receives Latin American Parliamentarians
LD2210145488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1400 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, 21 Oct (TASS)—Vadim Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Committee, secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, met parliamentary deputies from communist and workers' parties in Latin American countries: J.O. Marulanda (Columbia), P. Olamendi (Mexico) [names as received], Augusto de Carvalho (Brazil), Julio Renan Raffo Nunez (Peru), and Juan Pedro Ciganda (Uruguay), currently in our country at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

The guests were informed about the concept and progress of restructuring of CPSU domestic and foreign policy, the basic tasks of reform of the USSR political system, and efforts of the Soviet state aimed at strengthening peace and creating an all-embracing system of international security.

The parliamentarians talked about the broad interest being shown in restructuring in Latin America, and stressed its international significance.

Political & Social

PRAVDA Reports 26 Oct Presidium Session

PM2710115988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Session"]

[Text] A session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was held 26 October, chaired by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

It examined questions linked with the 11th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. It discussed and approved proposals on the agenda and the order of work for the session of the country's supreme organ of state power.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium discussed the question of completing the work of the Plan and Budget Commissions and the chambers' other permanent commissions to conduct a preliminary examination of the 1989 State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR, the progress in fulfilling the 1988 plan, the USSR 1989 State Budget, and the report on the execution of the 1987 budget. On instructions from the chambers' permanent commissions, B.V. Kachura, chairman of the Soviet of the Union Plan and Budget Commission, delivered a report. Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Gosplan, and B.I. Gostev, USSR finance minister, took part in discussing the question.

It was pointed out at the session that the chambers' permanent commissions and deputies have endeavored to approach the formation of the plan and next year's budget on the basis of new criteria and assessments. Proceeding from the directives of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference, they have submitted a large number of proposals linked with intensifying the social slant of the documents under examination and implementing more fully the proportions and priorities outlined by the party.

The permanent commissions devoted special attention to a comprehensive study of the plan's provisions linked with enhancing the effectiveness of social production, resolving the food problem, further developing consumer goods production and the services sphere, and accelerating housing construction.

They examined the question of submitting the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees adopted in the period between the 9th and 11th sessions of the country's supreme organ of state power to the USSR Supreme Soviet for ratification.

In the course of the discussion of questions of the agenda, M.S. Gorbachev noted that the examination of the plan and budget has been marked by their quite long and acute discussion in the commissions. The commissions' proposals and comments have been subjected to additional scrutiny, examined at the USSR Council of Ministers, and taken into account to a considerable extent. As a result a number of draft plan and budget indicators have been substantially amended.

The attention of the session's participants was drawn to the draft laws on amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution (fundamental law) and on elections of USSR people's deputies that have been published for nationwide discussion. They touch on a broad range of questions of the soviets' activity and were thoroughly discussed by the commission formed by the party Central Committee plenum and in the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. Broad strata of the population—workers, kolkhoz workers, scientists, and specialists—will undoubtedly react with interest to the amendments to the Constitution.

It is the task of the republics' supreme soviet presidiums and soviet organs at local level to organize this discussion without formalism so as to ascertain the opinion of the population and deputies. It is important that the upcoming debate should serve even now to galvanize to the utmost the soviets' activity in leading the economy on their territory and resolving all questions raised by working people.

Thus, the discussion of the published documents at local level will be an integral part of the implementation of political reform in our country. The role of the republics' Supreme Soviets and of all other local soviet organs must be as active as possible.

Supreme Soviet Session Begins in Kremlin

LD2710070488 Moscow TASS in English 0702 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 27 TASS—The Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the USSR opened its session in the Kremlin today to discuss a draft plan of the nation's social and economic development and a draft budget for 1989.

The two drafts have been discussed for more than two months, at times in a very acute form, at standing parliamentary commissions.

The deputies submitted many proposals directed at reinforcing social programmes envisaged in the plan and the budget.

The Supreme Soviet Presidium at its meeting yesterday examined issues related to the session.

Mikhail Gorbachev, who chaired the meeting, observed that the commissions' suggestions and amendments had been largely taken into account by the Council of Ministers. A number of plan and budget indicators had been substantially adjusted.

The documents will be presented to the deputies by Yuriy Maslyukov, chairman of the State Planning Committee, and Boris Gostev, finance minister of the USSR.

Vorotnikov Elected Vice President

LD2710073288 Moscow TASS in English 0727 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 27 TASS—Before considering the main issues of the session, the deputies elected Vitaliy Vorotnikov as vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, who recently became president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. (Under the USSR Constitution presidents of the Presidiums of the Supreme Soviets of all union republics are vice presidents of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet).

Vorotnikov's predecessor, Vladimir Orlov, who retired on a pension, was relieved of his duties as vice pesident of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The session also relieved Bally Yazkuliyev of these duties.

Agenda Endorsed; Changes Noted

LD2710085588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0835 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Text] Today in the Grand Kremlin Palace a joint session of the chambers opened a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Deputies and guests greeted with applause Gorbachev, Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Ligachev, Medvedev, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Chebrikov, Shevardnadze, Shcherbitskiy, Yakovlev, Biryukova, Vlasov, Lukyanov, Maslyukov, Razumovskiy, Solovyev, Talyzin, Yazov, and Baklanov. The session was opened by Voss, chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The session's agenda and working order were endorsed unanimously. The following questions were submitted for discussion: on changes in the composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; on the State Plan for USSR economic and social development for 1989 and on progress in carrying out the state plan for USSR economic and social development in 1988; on the USSR state budget for 1989 and on the fulfillment of the 1987 USSR state budget; and on the endorsment of decrees of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The deputies began their examination of the first issue on the session's agenda. At the extraordinary session the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium submitted a proposal to elect Comrade Vorotnikov deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium from the Russian Federation while releasing Deputy Vladimir Pavlovich Orlov from these duties in connection with his retirement. Another proposal was submitted to release deputy Bally Yazkuliyev from the duties of deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The session released Deputy Orlov from the duties of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. [sentence as heard] The session elected unanimously Deputy Vorotnikov as deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The proposal to release Deputy Yazkuliyev from the duties of deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was adopted. Deputy Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, gave a report on the state plan for economic and social development of the USSR for 1989 and on progress in fulfilling the plan for 1988.

Maslyukov Presents State Plan

LD2710090388 Moscow TASS in English 0859 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 27 TASS—The state plan for economic and social development of the USSR for 1989 was worked out with account for the positive changes in the national economy over the past three years, said Yuriy Maslyukov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU CC and chairman of the State Planning Committee of the USSR. Maslyukov made a report to the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet today on the plan for the country's economic development in 1989 and on the progress in the implementation of the plan of the current year. The session began its work in the Kremlin this morning.

The speaker noted that this year has seen the beginnings of a growing dynamism of the economy, an incipient increase in the effectiveness of production as well as positive results in the speeding up of scientific and technological progress.

At the same time, the speaker said, we must not indulge in smug complacency in light of the improving general economic indicators. Far from being mitigated, some of the negative trends are even on the rise. So far we have not managed to improve the supply of population with food, the light industry and engineering are clearly lagging behind, the deficiencies in the field of investments are being eliminated but slowly, and the country's financial situation remains quite complex. Overcoming these and other deficiencies is precisely one of the major tasks of the USSR development plan for 1989.

While in the current year, over half the industrial enterprises were working in conditions of full cost accounting and self-financing, next year the whole of the industry will be working in these new conditions. Leasing relations have gained broad development in agriculture. Next year the scope of their application will have to be sharply increased.

Among the positive changes in economy the speaker mentioned the reduction in the overall volume of state-placed orders in industry: In 1989 they will amount to a mere 25 per cent as against 86 per cent this year. The quantity of resources distributed centrally, according to quotas, will be reduced by more than a factor of nine—from five thousand denominations this year to 540 in the next.

The USSR State Planning Committee (Gosplan) has carefully examined all the observations and proposals put forward by deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the course of the discussion of the draft plan in the preparatory commissions, Yuriy Maslyukov said. On most of the observations specific amendments were introduced into the draft plan. They concerned mainly its social thrust. In particular, the government has found it possible to increase in 1989 the retail trade volume by 6 billion roubles, notably increase the plan for housing construction and for commissioning pre-school child centres. Solutions have been found to the need to increase the resources of paper which has made it possible to lift any limitations on subscriptions to newspapers and magazines. Much work has also been done to accomodate the observations made by the deputies concerning the agro-industrial complex.

The speaker dwelt at length on the social reorientation of national economy. He said, among other things, that in 1989 the growth in the output of consumer goods will outpace that of capital goods by 2.3 times. The USSR has never experienced such a fast growth of Group B products.

Maslyukov then mentioned negative phenomena in the economic development, noting that the effectiveness of capital inputs remains at an insufficient level. Of special concern are the high level of losses and the number of enterprises and organisations in industry and agriculture operating at a loss. This extremely negative phenomenon must be eliminated in the remaining two years of the present five-year period.

At the same time the plan's assignments for the growth in real incomes are reliably assured. People's real incomes will be up 3.1 per cent next year over 2.7 per cent under the plan for the current year. Besides, there is a provision to carry out broad centralised state measures to raise the living standards of the people. The cost of the measures is put at 4.2 billion rubles, which is also more than the assignments of the current five-year plan.

Referring to the problem of increasing the production of food, Yuriy Maslyukov stressed that the problem was given special significance in the draft plan. He pointed out that in the past three years the lagging behind the plan targets, in particular in the sales of grain to the state, will be over 40 million tons. Implementation of the assignments under the plan for the next year will permit a notable improvement in supplying population with food products.

Dwelling specifically on ecological issues, the speaker said that recent years have seen the adoption of concrete measures to improve enviromental protection: Some noxious types of production have been closed down, the construction of some enterprises has been discontinued, and certain projects developed without due account for ecological externalities have been cancelled. The same policy will be pursued next year.

Referring to the scientific and technological progress, the speaker mentioned a number of major programs to be implemented next year. In industry there will be a saving of labour equivalent to the labour performance of 1.3 million people, to be achieved through raising the technological level in industry.

Speaking in detail on the problems of development of foreign economic relations of the USSR, Yuriy Maslyukov mentioned a number of negative phenomena in this field: the decline of prices of the staple products of Soviet exports in the world market, a further rise in prices of products imported by the USSR, a reduction in currency receipts which could be used to repay previously received credits, a negative balance of payments with some CMEA countries. As a result, he said, the year 1989 will see a 2 per cent reduction in the foreign trade turnover compared to the plan of this year.

As before, in its foreign economic relations, the USSR gives preference to cooperation with socialist countries, above all with the CMEA member countries. In future, too, trade with the socialist countries will preserve its prevalent status and will account for 66 per cent of the total volume of Soviet trade with foreign countries. A special importance in the present situation is acquired by the "rapprochement" between the production link—enterprises, associations and organisations and the foreign markets. This ought to contribute to USSR's broader foreign economic cooperation with foreign countries and to making it more effective.

The year 1989 will occupy a special place in the development of Soviet economy, the chairman of the State Planning Committee of the USSR said in conclusion. The development of national economy next year will be decisive in determining possibilities of implementing the five-year plan as a whole and creating a durable basis for development in the future.

Further on Maslyukov Report

LD2710113888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Text] Deputy Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Gosplan, delivered a report at the USSR Supreme Soviet session on the first point of the agenda—the plan for economic and social development of the

USSR for the coming year and the course of the implementation of the plan for the current year. We have aleady informed you of the first part of the report in the previous bulletin.

The main feature of the plan for 1989 which determines its most major proportions, Deputy Maslyukov went on to say, is the substantial social reorientation of the economy. The elaboration of this fundamental task showed that it can be achieved only on a basis of heightened dynamism of the economy. The plan as a whole is characterized by a number of positive structural shifts which reflect the growing process of intensification. Most of the increment in national income is achieved through growth in labor productivity. However, the efficiency of production and capital investments in the national economy remains at a low level. The continuing high level of loss-making and the large number of loss-making enterprises, organizations, sovkhozes, and kolkhozes evoke particular concern. The present loss-making in the national economy is incompatible with the demands of the radical economic reform, and this negative problem must be resolved during the remaining 2 years of the current 5-year plan. Such measures will be accomplished as enterprises which are incapable of eradicating loss-making from their work within the indicated period are amalgamated with economically sound enterprises; as the loss-making enterprises are given over to lease; and, where it inevitable, as they are liquidated in accordance with the USSR Law on State Enterprises and Associations.

The restructuring of the economy is being conducted in the country first and foremost for the sake of the Soviet people and the improvement of all aspects of their life. The planning bodies approached with particular responsibility the drafting of the sections of the plan for the coming year which concern increasing the people's living standard. They also took into consideration a certain social tension in society that has come about at the current time due to the continuing lack of balance in the consumer goods market, particularly in foodstuffs, and the underdevelopment of the service sphere. Assessing the situation soberly, the speaker stressed, we understand that real improvement in the situation is possible only under conditions of radical amelioration in the country's overall economic situation. Resolving this task will take more than 1 year.

The scale of the problem is shown by the fact that, according to the estimates of scientists, the shortfall in satisfying the population's demand in the last three 5-year plans has reached tens of billions of rubles. And the USSR Government is bringing to the current session a state budget with a major deficit. Nevertheless, the plan for next year marks out concrete, intense, and goal-oriented measures to improve the situation in the country's most difficult sectors of social and economic development. In 1989 an improvement will be achieved in practically all indices of social development by comparison both with the targets for the current year and with the projections for the 5-year plan.

The new principles of economic management must in the final analysis lead to growth in labor productivity significantly outstripping growth in average monthly wages. Pay must be formed from means really earned by the collective. This, however, does not signify a renunciation of the state's social guarantees in the sphere of the population's income. Plans are to accomplish centralized measures worth R4.2 billion to improve the population's standard of living, which is above the target in the 5-year plan. It is envisaged that this money can be used to continue the increase in the pay of several categories of workers. The plans for housing construction for the current 5-year plan take into account the task of effectively providing every Soviet family with a separate apartment or house by the year 2000, a task set by the CPSU Congress. Calculations show that this task is entirely realistic.

In accordance with the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and the July 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, special attention was devoted during the elaboration of the draft plan for next year to matters of production of consumer goods and develoment of the service sphere, and particularly to resolution of the food problems. Agriculture is now developing in a more stable and dynamic manner, but has not yet accumulated the required rate. The USSR Council of Ministers has elaborated additional measures for increasing the production and improving provision of foodstuffs for the population in 1988-90. Major measures are being undertaken to accelerate the technical reequipment of light industry enterprises. In 1989 the volume of realization of paid services to the population will increase by more than 8 percent.

Questions of ecology are examined in detail in the report. The year 1989 essentially starts the realization of the long-term nature conservation measures contained in the draft concept for the socioeconomic development of the country up to 2005. The report studies in detail the problems of developing the industries providing the material basis for social production; the program for capital construction; the USSR's foreign economic ties; and the plans for economic and social development of the union republics. The revolutionary reform in the political system, Deputy Maslyukov said in conclusion, puts all rights and opportunities of leadership over the development of the national economy and over the social reorientation of the economy into the hands of the newly elected representative bodies of state power from urban, rayon, settlement, and rural soviets up to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

Gostev Submits Draft Budget

LD2710101488 Moscow TASS in English 1003 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 27 TASS—Soviet Finance Minister Boris Gostev submitted a draft budget of the USSR

for 1989 for consideration of a session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR which opened in the Kremlin today.

He described the budget as "tense" and said that its fulfilment required "vigorous and purposeful efforts to mobilise reserves, ensure rigid economy and streamline state finances".

Revenues next year are to reach 458 billion roubles, or more than three per cent over the 1988 level.

Expenditures are to grow at a faster pace—by 11 per cent—and reach 494 billion roubles.

The deficit of financial resorces will make up 36 billion roubles, or 7 per cent of the budget's volume.

The minister said that the budget deficit "is a problem that has not emerged just now but is a result of the unbalanced economy, of the policy of extensive subsidising, and huge losses—of all that was brought about by extensive methods of economic management, parasitic attitudes and the passive financial policy".

Gostev said that the state's expenditures had for years surpassed its revenues.

The imbalance sharply aggravated in the mid-1980s as the rates of economic development slowed down.

Among factors that had a negative impact on the country's financial status, the minister mentioned losses due to a fall in world oil prices: The state had lost almost 40 billion roubles in revenues since 1985.

The turnover tax was reduced by approximately the same figure due to the anti-drink campaign launched in the country.

The state also had big extraordinary expenditures.

It increased allocations to the social sphere by more than 18 billion roubles above the five-year plan to improve an extremely acute situation in that sphere.

Elimination of the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant required more than 8 billion roubles.

According to preliminary estimates, in 1988 the state's revenues will make up 96 per cent of the planned figure despite some positive changes, the minister said.

"Under the present conditions the task of overcoming the budget's imbalance is being put into the foreground to strengthen the finances," the reporter went on.

He said the government had worked out first-priority measures for 1989-1990 to search for new sources of revenues and introduce a rigid economy regime in spending state funds.

The main source of revenues in 1989 remain receipts from the national economy (profit and turnover taxes, revenues from foreign economic activities, and so on).

Taxes and receipts from the population are planned at the less than ten percent of the overall revenues.

The draft budget stops the lowering of the turnover tax. Foreign trade revenues are to be prevented from going down, too.

The finance minister believes that this task will be facilitated by a new model of foreign economic relations oriented to a growth in manufacturing industries' share in export.

Advancing the expenditures programme for 1989, the minister said that about two-thirds of expenditures were directly connected with the solution of social problems.

Allocations to housing, education, pensions and so on will grow.

About 11 billion roubles will be channeled into environmental protection.

The minister emphasised in this connection that "improvement of the ecological situation is a task of immense political and social importance".

The draft budget allocates 20.2 billion roubles to the upkeep of the personnel of the Armed Forces of the USSR.

These allocations will remain at the 1988 level, the reporter said.

The draft budget allocates 3 billion roubles to the upkeep of the state apparatus.

The reporter said in this connection that the state would pursue a steady policy of reducing administrative personnel.

The report gave much attention to the problem of eliminating unprofitability in the national economy.

The minister cited the following figures: About 24,000 enterprises in various industries were now operating at a loss.

Unprofitable enterprises exist due to the mechanical covering of their losses by the state.

"This practice must be done away with," the reporter said.

He announced that banks had already started publishing lists of insolvent enterprises.

A decision on reorganising or even liquidating some unprofitable enterprises had been adopted.

In conclusion, the finance minister pointed to the need to "achieve new qualitative changes in restructuring the finance and credit system and putting the national economy on a truly cost-accounting basis".

"All these will promote successful implementation of the plans and acceleration of the socio-economic development of our society," Gostev said.

Marchuk Addresses Session

LD2710102288 Moscow TASS in English 1013 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 27 TASS—"The Soviet Academy of Sciences holds that the Soviet Government has worked out a thoroughly studied draft state plan for 1989 and it can be endorsed by the USSR Supreme Soviet," Deputy Guriy Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, said from the rostrum of the session of the Soviet parliament today.

Expressing the view point of the country's leading scientists, the deputy drew attention to the need "further to consolidate the social sphere, achieve a sizeable headway in engineering, agriculture and related industries—the key directions which are central to social and economic progress of the entire country."

The scientist noted the importance of the course of saving resources and using them sparingly in all branches of the national economy, embarked upon by the state. "It is exactly here where we fell behind industrialized capitalist countries to the greatest extent. We have metal intensiveness of national income three times as high as in the United States, energy intensiveness—one and a half times as high. We produce several times less products from one cubic meter of forest and spend cement twice as poorly."

Marchuk said that the draft plan envisages priority rates of development for engineering and its pivotal branches—machine-tool building, instrument-making, electronic and electrical engineering industries. He drew the deputies' attention to serious headways in the work in the field of information science and automation.

At the same time, the president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences stated that the country encounters the shortage in the output of modern micro-processors.

The deputy said that the work by inter-sectoral science and technology complexes, which are oriented at carrying out the entire cycle of work to develop the production of highly efficient types of equipment and master the new generation technology, holds great promises.

Marchuk said that in line with the conclusions of the 19th party conference on the priority development rates for the country's scientific potential, the allocations from the USSR state budget for specific projects in science are increased by 12 per cent in 1989. Such a sizeable increase in the funds for the advancement of science is made for the first time over the five-year plan period, the scientist stressed.

Morning Session Summarized

LD2710130488 Moscow TASS in English 1251 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 27 TASS—The Supreme Soviet (Parliament) of the USSR began its session in the Kremlin today to examine a draft plan for the nation's social and economic development and a draft budget for 1989.

The drafts have been discussed for more than two months at standing parliamentary commissions. The remarks and proposals made by the deputies have been largely taken into account in the drafts submitted by the government to the current session.

The great amount of preparatory work makes it possible to keep the final discussion comparatively brief: The session is expected to last two days.

The head of the State Planning Committee of the USSR, presenting today the plan of the USSR's development in 1989, pointed to some positive changes in the economy, but called on the deputies not to be carried away by the achievements.

Yuriy Maslyukov, the committee chairman, drew attention to the fact that the food supplies had not been improved, that the consumer industry and machine-making were noticeably lagging behind and that shortcomings in the sphere of capital investment were being slowly eliminated.

Overcoming these and other difficulties constituted one of the major tasks of the 1989 state plan, he said.

The speaker disclosed that it had been decided to increase considerably at the parliamentary commissions' proposal the allocations to housing construction and the building of child-care facilities.

Real per capita incomes would grow by 3.1 per cent against the 2.7 per cent mark envisaged in this year's plan.

Soviet Finance Minister Boris Gostev presented the draft budget. The problem of the budget deficit has been brought before national legislature for the first time in his report—the deficit will amount to slightly more than seven per cent of the entire budget next year.

This problem had not emerged today, the speaker pointed out. But nowadays, in the conditions of glasnost, its causes had been named: imbalanced economy, great subsidies to inefficient farms and industries, losses from the drop in the price of oil in the world market, and so on.

"The task of overcoming the imbalance in the budget is being put forward in the current conditions to the foreground and will help enhance the finances," Gostev said.

The minister said that about two-thirds of the spending were directly linked to social issues. Allocations to housing construction, education and the pension scheme would grow, he said. Allocations for the maintenance of the personnel of the Soviet Armed Forces would remain at this year's level.

Representatives of the scientific community and trade unions commented on the draft plan and budget before the start of the debate for the first time in the USSR's parliamentary practice.

Guriy Marchuk, president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, came out in favour of increasing substantially the pace of developing machine-making, specifically areas connected with the automation of production.

He backed the large increase in allocations for science envisaged for the next year.

Stephan Shalayev, chairman of the USSR's Central Trade Union Council, welcomed the reinforcement of the social emphasis of the plan and budget. At the same time, he remarked, working people remained insufficiently protected against the growth of prices, especially on products and services offered by the cooperative sector.

The joint sitting of the two houses has closed. Debates on the drafts will be held in the houses separately.

Supreme Soviet Parliamentary Group Meets 27 Oct

LD2710121988 Moscow TASS in English 1214 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 27 TASS—The Parliamentary Group of the USSR uniting all deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet held its meeting in the Kremlin today. It adopted a letter to U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the universal declaration of human rights.

The meeting heard information on the activities of the Parliamentary Group of the USSR between April 1984 and October 1988 and took note of it.

Commissions Discuss 1989 Plan, Budget 24 Oct

PM2610105588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Oct 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Deputies Discussed"]

[Text] USSR Supreme Soviet deputies, who met 24 October for the second plenary session of the Plan and Budget Commissions, and the representatives of the chambers' other permanent commissions focused their attention on ensuring a creative and constructive approach to the formation of the State Plan for Economic and Social Development and next year's USSR State Budget—a demand of restructuring and of the reform of the political system. They examined the draft plan and budget for 1989, the progress in fulfilling plan targets this year, and a report on the execution of the 1987 budget. These questions are to be submitted for discussion to the session of the country's supreme organ of state power due to open in 2 days.

The final session was preceded by great analytical work on the draft plan and budget in the preparatory commissions formed by the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers' plan and budget and other permanent commissions. In the opinion of the deputies, by and large these documents have been drawn up in the spirit of the directives of the 19th all-union party conference and enable our country's potential to be used dynamically in order to ensure the harmonious socioeconomic development of all its regions. At the same time, in the course of the work of the preparatory commissions the shortcomings that are curbing the process of qualitative economic growth and of balancing the state budget were revealed.

The deputies made a large number of concrete proposals on the drafts under discussion and noted that they have been drawn up after the expenditure of considerable effort and require all reserves to be brought into play, above all to reorient the economy toward the priority development of the social sphere. Ways to speed up housing construction, resolve the food problem, increase the production and improve the quality of consumer goods, and improve the services sphere were thoroughly discussed.

Deputies noted that the results of fulfilling this year's plan targets attest to positive changes in the development of the economy. However, serious shortcomings and omissions in the work of a number of ministries, departments, enterprises, and organizations and the poor use of opportunities for enhancing production effectiveness invested in the new economic management mechanism are still taking their toll on the results of the country's socioeconomic development.

The commissions submitted proposals to clarify a number of plan and budget indicators and approved draft conclusions on them and on the commissions' draft coreports for the next USSR Supreme Soviet session.

A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Gosplan, took part in the work of the commissions.

Discussion of 'Deficit'

LD2410132588 Moscow TASS in English 1315 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 24 TASS—TASS News Analyst Igor Yefimov writes:

The USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament) is to go into session next Thursday to consider a draft state socio-economic development plan and a draft budget of the country for 1989.

Preliminary debates of the documents have been going on in the government and in the standing parliamentary commissions for more than two months now. The very character of the drafts differs in many respects from what the Soviet public has got used to.

Let us take a draft plan first. Its concept has undergone changes in accordance with the principles of perestroyka (restructuring) and economic reform. Firstly, the plan has been drawn up with an eye to people's requirements. The manufacture of consumer goods is planned to grow by more than six per cent next year while the production of capital goods will go up by 2.5 per cent. The Soviet industry has not known such a priority of the manufacture of consumer goods before.

A sharp reduction in the planning sphere is the second distinguishing feature. It must be recalled that prior to perestroyka the entire output of the Soviet economy was centrally planned.

From 1988 when the new principles of management took effect, enterprises got an opportunity to sell products put out in excess of what was ordered by the state on the wholesale market. But in actual fact the state of things turned out to be different: The ministries fixed the state order to many industrial plants and factories in an amount which engaged 100 per cent of their production capacities, leaving them no room for manoeuvre.

Such an approach gave rise to strong criticism by the press and the public. People viewed it as an attempt to torpedoing the economic reform. The question was discussed by the country's leadership, the government. The planning agencies were forbidden to introduce a 100 per cent state order.

This found reflection in a draft plan for 1989. The share of state orders will not exceed 25 per cent in the machine-building sector and 30 per cent in the light industry. So, there arises an opportunity to begin the formation of a wholesale market of the means of production.

But a reduction in the share of state orders may be fraught with an unexpected outcome. During a pre-session discussion it turned out that some factories decided to curtail production and to manufacture goods only under a state order. In order to maintain incomes, they intend to boost prices—an economic reform enables them to do that. This was strongly criticised at meetings of the standing commissions. The deputies suggested that the government find a formula which would make it possible to avert the triumph of 'group egoism' over state interests.

Now a few words about a draft budget for 1989. A budget deficit problem the existence of which was passed over in silence previously will be brought up at the Soviet parliament session for the first time. It was stated at a government meeting and in the planning and budgetary commissions of the parliament that state expenditure grows quicker than revenue. The Council of Ministers of the USSR intends to bring up for deputies' consideration a programme of measures directed towards strict economy.

Thus, the consideration of a plan and budget for 1989, the last year but one of the five-year plan period, lies ahead. The results of the entire five-year plan period, the first five years of perestroyka, depend in many respects on how optimally economic orientations will be selected.

Vlasov Elected NOVOSTI Board Chairman

LD2610192188 Moscow TASS in English 1908 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—At its session here today the Council of Founders of the NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY (APN) relieved Valentin Falin, chairman of the APN board, of its duties in view of his transfer to another job.

Albert Vlasov was elected chairman of the NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY Board.

Replacement of KGB Chief in Armenia Announced

WA2710100388 Paris AFP in English 0947 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, Oct 27 (AFP)—The secret police chief in the southern republic of Armenia, Marius Yuzbashyan, has been replaced, the official Armenian newspaper KOMMUNIST has announced.

Tuesday's edition of the paper reaching here Thursday said that Mr Yuzbashyan had been transferred to another post and been replaced by Valeriy Badamyants, apparently also an Armenian.

The replacement of the Armenian KGB chief comes two months after the secret police head in neighbouring Azerbaijan was replaced by a Russian.

Armenia and Azerbaijan have been the stage of ethnic unrest since February over the disputed territory of Nagorno-Karabakh, an Armenian-dominated Azerbaijani region claimed by Armenians.

Baltic Republics Sign Economic Protocol
LD2610142788 Tallinn HOMELAND in English 19 Oct 88 pp 1, 2

[Arved Jurgensen report: "Towards Baltic Cooperation: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania Sign Protocol on Economic Autonomy"]

[Excerpts] The three Baltic Soviet republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania are beginning to join forces to solve common problems. [passage omitted]

And yet that call actually came after serious cooperation in the Baltic area had already got under way: From September 21 to 23, the Latvian capital Riga was the venue of a conference of leading Baltic economists, which aimed at elaborating a joint platform to be submitted to Moscow's consideration to gain autonomy in the management of economy.

Lively [subhead]

After a day and a half of lively debate, common viewpoints were formulated and fixed in an appendix to a protocol signed by the chiefs of state planning committees and heads of leading research institutes of economics.

The foundation for a republic's economic autonomy, the appendix says, is to be laid by assuming exclusive control over the use of its property. The latter should include all land, mineral resources, inland and territorial waters, the continental shelf, as well as property created and purchased by the state.

State property will also include industrial enterprises, farms, banks, transport and power networks, etc. The way state property is to be used will be determined by the Supreme Soviet, or parliament, of each republic.

The subordination of industrial enterprises, banks, transport and communication networks to union ministries and agencies will be abolished, the document says. Military installations of all-union importance may be regarded as union property, in which case their operation will be subject to long-term agreements between the respective republic and the union government.

All industrial enterprises, including those created as shareholding companies in cooperation with or by the republic and have to abide by its legislation. [sentence as published] All matters related to taxation will be handled by the republic.

Union authorities will retain control over securing the defence capability of the Soviet Union as well as conducting its foreign policy.

Towards these ends and projects of all-union significance, each republic will make allocations to the union budget.

Currencies [subhead]

According to the joint document, the republics will be independent as regards their economic, social, and demographic policies. They will be free to exert control over prices and introduce their own currencies, fixing the exchange rate with the Soviet ruble and other currencies at their own discretion.

The above does not mean that Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania are going to sever their economic links with other Soviet republics.

However, they will have to be developed on the principle of equivalent exchange under contracts drawn up by individual production units, which will be economically independent, as well as under agreements signed by state bodies.

The introduction of economic self-management requires amendments to the Soviet Constitution, so that economic autonomy of the republic could be legally garanteed.

The switchover to economic self-government will take effect after the enactment of a single legislative act.

According to Reyn Otsason, head of the Estonian State Planning Committee and director of the Estonian SSR Institute of Economics, the adoption of the protocol and its appendix was not all plain sailing.

In an interview he gave after his return from Riga, Otsason said that the most disputed points were those concerning the republic's property and its right to conduct its own financial policy.

It was mainly participating economists from Moscow and some Latvian representatives who spoke against these ideas being included in the document in their present form but in the course of the debate, their arguments were defeated, Otsason said.

Commenting on the significance of the joint protocol, he said that the meeting in Riga was only a small step towards the desired goal.

However, Otsason noted, it will now be easier for the three republics to withstand pressure on the part of the union bodies, which seem to be inclined to start imposing their own ideas about economic autonomy.

It was decided to follow up the Riga conference with a meeting of government officials in Tallinn in late October-early November; meanwhile there will be more mutual consultations between research bodies. [passage omitted]

Agreement Principles Published

WA2510144588 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 27 Sep 88 p 2

[Text] Protocol of the conference of specialists of the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian SSR's on the elaboration of a new model of social and economic development of republics and regions in light of the decisions of the June (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, Riga, 21-23 September 1988. [subhead]

As a result of hearing the reports by delegations of the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian SSR's, and the debates on them, the conference decided:

1. To approve the coordinated basic principles of republic economic accountability [khozraschet] (attached).

2. Following paragraph 1 of this protocol and in execution of the commission of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers dated 3 September 1988, to work out in every republic proposals on the principles and creation of a mechanism for a transition to republic economic accountability.

To continue their interrepublic coordination in working order.

To prepare proposals on the coordination of further work.

3. To adopt the proposal of the Estonian SSR on holding the next conference in Tallinn in October-November 1988.

[Signed] B.A. Zaykauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Gosplan

E.I. Vilkas, director of the Institute of Economics of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences, academician

M.L. Raman, chairman of the Latvian SSR Gosplan

A.A. Kalninsh, director of the Scientific Research Institute of the agro-industrial complex of the Latvian SSR, academician

R.A. Otsason, chairman of the Estonian SSR Gosplan, director of the Institute of Economics of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences, doctor of economic sciences

Coordinated Basic Principles of Republic Economic Accountability, Riga, 21-23 September 1988 [subhead]

Following the resolution of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference on international relations, the basic principles of republic economic accountability listed below are determined:

1. Property.

1.1. The right to independently own, dispose of, and use its own property is the basis for the economic independence of a union republic.

1.2. Land, mineral resources, internal and territorial waters, the sea shelf, forests, the atmosphere, and all property acquired and created with state funds and located on the territory of a union republic are the state property of a union republic. Enterprises, organizations, farms, banks, transport and power networks (systems), state institutions, infrastructure projects, and financial resources embodied in the means of production, in planning and design documents, and in other assets, as well as other production and nonproduction projects created with state funds, are considered the state property of a union republic.

1.3. The Supreme Soviet of a republic on behalf of the republic's people determines the procedure of owning, disposing of, and using property.

The union subordination of enterprises, organizations, farms, banks, transport and power networks, facilities, and systems, and communication networks located on the territory of a union republic is abolished.

1.4. USSR Ministry of Defense projects of an all-union nature can be considered the possession of the USSR and operate on the basis of a long-term contract between the union and a republic.

1.5. All enterprises, including those based on the property of interrepublic and international joint-stock societies, which are newly established by other republics and states (or their firms), are subjected to the taxation and legislation of a republic. The procedure of taxation and the amounts of taxes and payments to the budget are determined by the state authority of a union republic independently.

2. Mutual relations with union authorities.

2.1. A union republic delegates functions of management on an all-union scale to USSR state authorities: safeguarding the defense of the USSR and conducting the foreign policy of the USSR.

2.2. To perform all-union functions, deductions are made from the budget of a union republic to the USSR state budget.

2.3. A republic participates on a share basis in financing all-union and interrepublic programs.

3. Organization of economic management in a republic.

3.1. All matters of local state authorities and administration are under the jurisdiction of a union republic.

3.2. A union republic independently solves all problems of economic policy, formation of republic and local budgets, preparation and approval of plans and programs for its economic, social, and demographic development, price formation, taxation, wages, and economic incentives.

The organization of banking and monetary circulation, including the introduction of the currency of a economically accountable republic and determination of the procedure and rate of its exchange into other currencies, including into rubles as the common currency of the USSR, is within the jurisdiction of this republic.

A union republic independently solves all problems concerning its foreign economic activity and carries out this activity.

3.3. An economically accountable republic participates in the interrepublic division of labor on the basis of an equivalent mutually advantageous commodity exchange on the union market carried out on a contractual basis among economically independent enterprises and organizations, as well as state economic management bodies.

4. Legal basis for the introduction of republic economic accountability.

4.1. The establishment of a legal basis for an economically accountable republic requires a change in the corresponding articles of the USSR Constitution and the constitutions of union republics with a view to constitutionally affirming the economic independence of republics.

4.2 The transition of a republic to economic accountability is carried out by a one-time legislative act.

Estonia's Otsason Comments

WA2510143988 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 27 Sep 88 p 2

[Interview with Doctor of Economic Sciences R. Otsason by ETA correspondent V. Tsion: "To Decide Together"; date, place not given; first two paragraphs are SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA introduction]

[Text] A conference of specialists of the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian SSR on the elaboration of a new model for the social and economic development of republics and regions in the light of the decisions adopted at the June (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the 19th all-union party conference was held in Riga from 21 through 23 September. The coordinated basic principles of republic economic accountability published today became the results of its work.

Our republic's delegation was headed by Doctor of Economic Sciences R. Otsason, deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the ESSR Gosplan, and director of the Institute of Economics of the ESSR Academy of Sciences. An ETA correspondent asked him to comment on the conference results.

[Otsason] To start with, I would like to note that our work on preparing the concept of republic economic accountability is entering a new stage. The development of main directions within a republic and their discussion can be considered the first stage. Both basic working groups—the provisional collective of scientists and specialists established under the Institute of Economics of the ESSR Academy of Sciences and the IME [Self-Managing Estonia] problem council—are now approaching the completion of the concept's development. An important new stage—coordination of its basic principles with other republics and all-union bodies—is now at hand. The conference in Riga became the first very important step in this direction. It was convened by chairmen of gosplans of four republics—Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Belorussia. For reasons unknown to us Belorussia's representatives did not take part in the conference.

[Tsion] If possible, please say a few words about the representation in general and our delegation in particular.

[Otsason] Basically, they were specialists engaged in their republics in the development of the concept of republic economic accountability. Our delegation was formed according to the principle of democratic representation of all basic groups. It included members of the provisional scientific collective of the Institute of Economics and of the IME problem council and Gosplan specialists. The delegations of other republics were formed similarly—from scientists and practical workers. Of course, since the conference was held in Riga, Latvia's representatives made up the lion's share of the 200

participants. The discussion was open. Each of those sitting in the hall was able not only to listen to the discussion, but also to express himself, to take part in the debate, and to express his position.

[Tsion] I imagine how stormy the debates were....

[Otsason] Yes, during all the years of my scientific activity I probably had no occasion to see a more fundamental, interested, and not indifferent atmosphere at a business conference. However, I should note that only one delegation—the Estonian—had a unified concept and defended it unanimously. Latvia's representatives expressed different points of view, including against the idea of republic economic accountability. Nevertheless, the concept of the working group established under the Central Committee of Latvia's Komsomol under the guidance of Academician A. Kalninsh dominated. This concept was published in the Latvian press and possibly anyone in Estonia could become acquainted with it. Lithuania was also represented by various points of view of this problem, but again the concept of the Institute of Economics, which in the last 2 months came very close to our position, predominated, although there were also totally opposite views expressed by the workers of the republic's Gosplan. Several scientists from Moscow also took part in the conference. Work was organized as follows: For the first 1 and ½ days there was a debate and arguments on general and individual matters; then for 1 and ½ days participants in the conference were engaged in a coordination of the basic principles of republic economic accountability.

[Tsion] What problems evoked the most bitter arguments?

[Otsason] It can be stated that two matters became the objects of sharp disagreements and of bitter debate. The first concerns republic property. Most representatives of the scientific community of all the three republics, including members of our delegation, proceeded from the following position: Once a Soviet socialist republic is a sovereign state, state ownership of the means of production should be treated as the property of this state. We know that in the USSR Constitution this question remained open and unexplained: State property—is this USSR property or republic property? The jurists of our delegation stressed the fact that the Soviet Union was a union of states. And when we talk about state property, we should have in mind republic ownership of the means of production. The only argument which was attempted to be set against this point of view consisted in the statement by Tumanis, docent at Latvian State University. I cite the following: "With such an approach we will create in union republics the same authoritative bureaucratic systems of state management as sectorial ministries are now." We answered this: It should not be forgotten that the process of establishing regional economic accountability occurs under conditions of democratization, and the closer a management body is to direct production and the population, the more thoroughly it can be subject to the people's interests through the democratic system. Therefore, the republic system of management will not and cannot be as authoritative as the system of sectorial administrative management.

[Tsion] And the second matter that evoked disagreements?

[Otsason] This is the problem of monetary circulation in a union republic. Our delegation and Lithuania's delegation, which actively supported us, proceeded from the fact that we should base our approach on Lenin's concept of the federal nature of the Soviet Union. As is well known, in his last works V.I. Lenin stressed that, in his opinion, only defense and foreign policy functions should be under the jurisdiction of all-union bodies. We understand this as meaning that the economy should be under the jurisdiction of a union republic. From this it follows that monetary circulation, if there is an objective need for it, should also be in the hands of republic management bodies, naturally with the preservation of the determined all-union system of monetary circulation. Moscow participants in the conference, especially Prof V. Belkin, opposed such an interpretation. He believes that if the right to an independent regulation of monetary circulation is transferred to republics, republics will allegedly go back to a subsistence economy and so forth. The following retort had to be given to this: The world knows many small states which independently manage monetary circulation, for example Belgium or Finland. In no way can it be said about them they have arrived at a subsistence economy....

[Tsion] Reyn Augustovich, on the whole, how would you describe the course of the conference and its results?

[Otsason] It can be said that the principles of our conference's work were democratic, also because no one set for himself the goal of imposing his concept on someone and of setting one point of view against another. From the very beginning it was a question of the possibility of developing positions most acceptable to all and of coordinating the basic principles of republic economic accountability. This is how we entitled our concluding document: "Coordinated basic principles of republic economic accountability." If disagreements on some problems arose among the representatives of republics and they were not confident that a certain decision corresponded to their interests, such points were not included at all in the protocol. Of course, this does not mean that we will not discuss them in the future. Nevertheless, all the basic principles of regional economic accountability were reflected in the concluding document. I would like to mention two useful aspects of the appearance of such a document. First, it offers a new basis for further research. Second, these coordinated principles enable us to jointly defend correct positions, in our opinion, before other bodies and organizations which attempt to deal with economic accountability problems on an all-union level. It is also important that the participants in the conference came to an agreement

about the continuation of work on coordinating this concept. In particular, the proposal by the ESSR Council of Ministers on convening at the end of October a conference of the representatives of Councils of Ministers of other republics interested in regional economic accountability was received with satisfaction. Invitations have already been sent out. We have also adopted an additional decision on the establishment—either before this conference, or somewhat later—of working groups of three republics for basic problems, that is, price formation, organization of the trade turnover among republics, and so forth, in order to discuss, for the purpose of helping each other, all the moot points in greater detail in the course of further work.

Memorial to First Estonian President Unveiled

LD2610140188 Tallinn HOMELAND in English 19 Oct 88 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Comeback of First President"]

[Text] The highlight of the 6th Heritage Festival in the south-Estonian resort town of Parnu was on October 8 when a memorial tablet was unveiled to Konstantin Pats, the first and last president of the independent Republic of Estonia.

At grassroots initiative a monument to the beloved leader was put up at Tahkuranna, the birthplace of Pats, in 1939, just a year before Estonia lost its independence. In the summer of 1940 the monument was barbarously destroyed with machineguns.

On October 8 of this year thousands of people gathered at the ruins of Pats' house and monument to pay tribute to the great Estonian statesman whose name has been a taboo or an abusive word ever since Estonia became part of the Soviet Union.

It is only now that historians are beginning to be able to assess objectively the role of Pats in Estonian history.

The tablet was consecrated by the local priest. A donation box was carried round to collect money for restoring the destroyed monument.

Commission to Review Rally Complaints Formed

WA18000093 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 6 Oct 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: At the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers]

[Text] On 3 October 1988 the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers created a government commission for reviewing complaints about the actions of individuals during the unsanctioned meeting which took place in Vilnius on 28 September 1988. Members of the commission are: Yu. Sheris (chairman), A. Bartusyavichyus, A. Buylis, J. Guretskas, P. Kuris, K. Moteka, V. Pyatkyavichyus, V. Tomkus. The commission has been empowered to recruit other people for the work of the commission and has been instructed to present to the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, within 10 days, its conclusions on the given question.

Lithuanian Leader Petkevicius Discusses Goals

WA18120007 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 38, 25 Sep-2 Oct 88 p 12

[Interview with writer Vytautas Petkevicius by journalist Leonid Kapelyushny on Sajudis (Movement)—the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka; date, place not given]

[Text] A few words about Vytautas Petkevicius. In his youth he fought in volunteer formations against the bands of "green brothers," battles which, after victory in 1945, lasted longer than the war itself. Later, in the difficult 1950s, he worked as YCL and party functionary. The roots of his firm and honest prose date back to those uncompromising times. He is widely read and respected in the republic.

In the past few months, as he himself admitted, the writer has kept away from the writing desk. By correspondence, and without being asked, he was included (or promoted—whatever you prefer) in the first group of the Movement for Perestroyka.

[Kapelyushny] Were you upset that you had to put your manuscript aside?

[Petkevicius] Sooner or later the time comes to back up what you say in books with action. It is wrong to regard the main lines of perestroyka—democratization and glasnost—simply as having been proclaimed from above. They matured and were nurtured by all of us in previous years and not only those of stagnation. Every one of the 35 members of the movement's sponsor group used to fight single-handed to put society on a healthier footing. I would like to make a special point: None of us was upset by the lack of attention, everyone "had plenty of everything on his plate." And if perestroyka is not proceeding with such difficulties, if all of us on the eve of the 19th party conference didn't feel that the deceleration forces might get the upper hand, why then do we need the movement? But people have become apprehensive about this, and not without grounds. And the main occupation of every one of us, be it writing, music or research, has turned out to be secondary in comparison with public concern.

[Kapelyushny] I have followed the movement kind of from aside. You are one of those who stand by the iron-hot oven of its "kitchen." Therefore, two questions at once. The first, don't you find that the meetings or rallies, held within the framework of the movement, are

distinguished by some immoderate demands, especially, as concerns Lithuania's national interests? And the second, what are the movement's goals and programme?

[Petkevicius] At our first meeting, when the movement made its first public appearance and met with conference delegates before their departure to Moscow, I saw a man elbowing his way towards the rostrum. He held the Lithuanian national flag yellow-green-red, with which, incidentally, we joined the Soviet Union and fought for the power of the soviets, a battle which, for some reason, was later declared to be bourgeois and nationalist. The flag was brand new, but "decorated" like a battle colour burned through in several places. The reaction to it from the representatives of the authorities was clear. It was aggravated by nationalist and extremist slogans, which suddenly appeared in the square. The package of proposals which we presented to the delegates contained this one—revive national symbolics and attributes, including the yellow-green-red flag. Introduce dual citizenship in the union republics, make the language of the national republic a state language, secure economic independence, sovereignty in the field of culture, and so on. Without going into details, it is also possible that we fail to see the difference in demands. But it is considerable: We are for perestroyka, but the extremists want the dismantling of Soviet power. They demand exceptional rights for Lithuanians in Lithuania, we proceed from the assumption that the success of perestroyka will be inconceivable without the unity, respect and unification of all those residing in Lithuania—Russians and Poles, Belorussians and Karaites, Jews and Ukrainians.

In general, I must say that Lithuania has never been distinguished by nationalistic psychosis. In short, we strongly demanded that extremists obey the laws of internationalism and, it was not difficult to see, their slogans did not appear at the movement's subsequent meetings. I'll say even more—the resolute tone made it clear that the number of "fighters," following the tune of foreign voices, was negligent in Lithuania.

What was it that attracted the public at large to this movement, which now has about 100,000 followers? The initiative group laid down seven directions of activity and set up seven sections—ecological, economic, sociopolitical, etc. While setting forth our goals and tasks, I would have to retell the party conference's resolution. It cannot be otherwise. Communists make up almost a half the sponsor group's composition. In setting up the movement's strongpoints at enterprises, on collective and state farms, we set our sights primarily on activists rooting for the people's cause.

[Kapelyushny] A logical question—why then has the movement decided to keep aloof instead of acting within the framework of soviets and party organizations?

[Petkevicius] You know the answer yourself. Should the official authorities take over the movement, they would first of all begin compiling the plans of activities and discussing the candidatures of leaders. Then they would engage in the lengthy business of earmarking funds for missions, compiling tables of permanent appointments, and so on and so forth. There would necessarily appear some instruction. Accountability would be required. Circulars would come in showers from above. I am not sure that, acting "in the framework," we would be able to pose the questions of, say, ecology so sharply. For we are witnessing things which are not only impermissible, but even criminal. Unit 3 of an atomic power station is being built in Ignalina without any specifications. Hundreds of millions of roubles have already been spent on a project which, in the opinion of our scientists, is not only unnecessary, but even harmful. Maybe the fire which broke out on September 5 at Unit 2 will make builders heed the public's demands.

Or, take the equally tense situation in the provision of the republic with meat products. Lithuania annually produces almost twice the amount of meat per capita than the country's average. But from year to year our counters have been getting ever more scanty. For four years now the republic's population has been growing, but the market stocks have not. On the contrary, their assortment has deteriorated. It's not difficult to guess what is being said in queues on this account. That's why the question arises—why can't the government of the republic put the question point-blank before the USSR Council of Ministers and use its constitutional right as a sovereign state (or doesn't it want to?).

[Kapelyushny] You mean, display disobedience?

[Petkevicius] What has ceremonial to do with this if it's a question of the prestige of perestroyka? After all, what do we get? If output grows, it means that people work better. But there is no result. Consequently, again only idle chatter and boasting about percentages? In all probability, for the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee it is simpler this way—feed everyone from one pan. But the words "equality" and "egalitarianism" only have the Latin root in common, whereas in their meaning they are like fire and water. And while taking up the cudgels for economic independence, the movement proceeds from the need to combat egalitarianism or wage levelling announced by the party. Our scientists are working on a model of economic independence and a programme for the subsistence minimum which would guarantee all social strata the right to high-quality produce.

[Kapelyushny] Not everyone rejoiced at the birth of Sajudis. What lurks behind non-acceptance?

[Petkevicius] I think that the question needs to be specified—the official authorities, notably the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, have recognized the movement. Literally a few days after we announced the establishment of a sponsor group, L. Shepetis, Central Committee secretary, told us the following: "It's not 'we' and 'you' that have come together for a chat, but all of us, motivated by the common idea

of helping perestroyka." A few months have passed since then. We have abided by our fundamental guidelines—look not for confrontation, but for points of cooperation with the authorities. Learn respect and tolerance for the viewpoint of your opponents. Don't mix glasnost and democracy with unruliness and undiscipline. I think that we have succeeded in this. I can't resist the temptation of citing a long quotation:

"We sincerely welcome and will support all Sajudis' concrete practical deeds aimed at promoting and strengthening perestroyka and at eliminating everything that hampers perestroyka and the strengthening of socialism.

"This is a young movement, only just rising to its feet. For the most part, I would say, it is at the stage of meeting democracy. It has errors, excessive emotions, some of its representatives at times are unduly hasty and unscrupulous in formulations and accept compromises with people who can't exactly have the best reputation in the republic. All of this has to be looked at calmly, without any nervousness. If people from the movement think and speak in a non-standard way, sometimes sharply, this is not an occasion for panicking and crying 'tally-ho!' There is a need to be able to listen to people whose opinion is unusual to our ear, the more so when they tell the truth."

I quoted the words of N. Mitkin, second secretary of the Lithuania CP Central Committee.

[Kapelyushny] The movement is an alternative to stagnation, which we chronologically defined in a simplified way as Brezhnev's times. But many of our troubles and problems have their roots in the 1930s and 1940s. Sometimes we touch upon questions which can no longer be put right—the bloody dramas of collectivization, Stalin's terror, the Stalin-Hitler alliance, which is painful for all of us and which led to the 1939 treaty of friendship and frontiers. Much is particularly being said about the latter in the Baltic republics, specifically about the secret protocols which are still not known to us. Sometimes I catch myself thinking but what if we never come to know the whole truth? What if it has been hidden forever by the then rulers of destinies? You once said in your publication that that time has livened on rabid yeast....

[Petkevicius] But in that publication I also said something else: We ourselves created that rabid time, it did not come to us on its own. We believed the half-ignorant "father of the peoples" that the class struggle was growing sharper with the advance towards socialism. We arrested and exiled one another. Now the time has come, and we soberly assessed the black services of Stalin and his yesmen from the then leadership of the party and country. The movement turns to the past not for the sake of reappraising the present. Lithuania's future is inconceivable without the Soviet Union. But in that future we must know the whole truth about our past.

[Kapelyushny] Let us be frank to the end: The movement's national programme aroused concern among the republic's Russian-speaking population. Some have lived for decades in Lithuania, but still failed to learn the language. Others have just come and would be glad to study it, but problems arise—in effect, there are neither causes nor a sufficient quantity of manuals and dictionaries. On TV you can study any language you like, but not Lithuanian, and so on.

[Petkevicius] You know, everything has its root causes. Had we five years ago demanded of the State Committee for Publishing, Printing and Book Trade the publication of a large number of textbooks in Lithuanian, we would immediately have been labeled nationalists. Bilingualism was no more than a word and no one observed it. Needless to say, the situation cannot be rectified in a day or even in a year. And forcing people into studying the language is hopeless, I am saying this because I know—my wife is Ukrainian, and I once decided that I had to learn Ukranian. If compelled to, I would hardly have managed it.

Our major trouble, and a common trouble at that, is a low level of culture. We do not know how to discuss, we are intolerant to other people's shortcomings, we have not been taught to respect other people, for decades we have been taught to obey. And when we speak about the goals of the movement, in the final analysis they consist in reviving human dignity. Without this neither a state committed to the rule of law, nor a democratic form of government, nor even social justice are conceivable.

The movement is not fighting for power and does not have any government. The Sajudis regional councils, functioning by voluntary effort, draw on primary groups of support. The movement has acquired a highly important social function—that of really popular control over the work of the apparatus. It was born of perestroyka, and its god parents are glasnost and democracy. It will deplete itself as soon as perestroyka becomes irreversible.

Latvian Popular Front Appeal Published 23 Sep

WA18000067 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian 23 Sep 88 pp 2-3

[Appeal by the Coordination Center of the Latvian Popular Front and representatives of the Republic Cultural Council of Creative Associations to all residents of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic—Letts, Russians, Lithuanians, Jews, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Poles, Estonians, Livs, Gypsies—to all, to all!]

[Text] Dear comrades! Ladies and Gentlemen! Friends, like-minded people, and dissidents:

We, those who numerous initiative and support groups have asked to invest our forces and energy in the creation of a Latvian Popular Front, turn to all of you, to anyone who cares for the destinies of our fatherland and homeland—Latvia.

You may be secondary school or university students, workers or kolkhoz members; you may be engaged in the simplest, ordinary, or most profound intellectual work; all the same, Latvia is your mother!

Your life may be happy or tragic; you may live in a state of well-being or be distressed by much of what is happening in society and politics; all the same, Latvia is your mother!

You may be an honest Communist or honestly believe in your God; all the same, Latvia is your mother!

This is a land which was a victim of two bloodshedding world wars and a conspiracy between Hitlerism and Stalinism. This land is not free from the vestiges of the cult of personality, arbitrariness, and stagnation. Three Russian revolutions tempered the combat brotherhood between Letts and other peoples and instilled in their blood an unquenchable thirst for freedom. Today, along with the red flags of the workers, the historical, traditional red-white-red flag is waving in our hands. Alongside the Internationale, we hear the prayer of the people "God Bless Latvia," a song which asserts the identity of the Latvian nation. To any nation, national self-assertion is the only way to the highest culture and to mankind. This is Raynis' way.

Look around you: This land awaits our common work and help; it waits for those whose ancestors for centuries cleared this land from rocks, who sowed, plowed, who wrote songs and rose to the struggle for freedom.

This land awaits the work and help of those who came here yesterday as well as those who will come tomorrow, those who have linked their lives with the Latvian people and the Latvian land. Today, in the age of intellectualization of socialism, one cannot fail to understand this; furthermore, life in any national republic has its emotional aspect as well.

Latvia is the land of trust. Its nature has made so difficult the fate of the people living on the crossroads of Europe, the fate of a land on a crossroads.

Latvia is a threshold. All of us must be worthy of the trust of Latvia and, above all, the Letts. How else can we live here a life worthy of a people, a life worthy of European civilization, despite the criminal wars, despite the Ribbentrop-Molotov treason, despite the opportunistic economic policy of careerists in the administrative bureaucracy and despite the opponents of restructuring and the conservatives.

The revolution which legitimately began throughout our huge country is described as a moral revolution. With tremendous effort the Communist Party was able to unleash the healthy forces within itself and within the people. It wishes to go beyond what the October Revolution and Lenin were able to attain. This is the final battle.

We, the founders of the Latvian Popular Front, call upon all of you to become active participants in the moral revolution and to realize that the fate and nature of socialism are being decided now.

Therefore, in a situation in which the interests of Latvia are indivisible from the interests of the other national-state formations which constitute the Soviet Federation, we announce the main aspects of the struggle of the Latvian Popular Front:

We shall participate in the creation of a state of law in order to exclude any possibility of the monopolizing of power. There must be total separation of the legislative from the executive and judicial powers. Such a structure alone can guarantee a person not only material well-being but also the highest value—freedom.

The law, to which the state and its authorities and officials are answerable, must be secured by giving priority to the power of an autonomously functioning parliament, the task of which would be to block the path of the government and the party apparatus should their activities show any tendency to violate the laws and standards of ruling.

We shall see to it that the state is accountable to the citizens.

We shall see to it that the laws are not bureaucratically distorted and adapted to administrative advantages.

We shall see to it that the socialist state of law ensures true independent and democratic justice, the guarantee for which can be glasnost in the press. We shall see to it that the justice authorities defend the rights and freedoms of the citizens.

We shall see to it that public control over all armed formations of the state, consistent with the special laws which define the functions of such formations, and their financing and leadership is maintained. All authorities which can exercise armed power must, in a state of law, function on a legal basis, like any other.

We shall see to it that the people are not persecuted for views different from the official ones. In this case primacy must be given to the methods of political discussions, free from any administrative aftertaste. Unless the state of law does not defend the right of dissidents to express their views within the framework of the law, we shall never be free from political discrimination against citizens or classifying some people as "second rate."

We shall see to it that the members of the Popular Front strengthen within their ranks the power of the law and guarantee public order, consistent with the standards of a civilized socialist society.

Professional jurists who are members of our organization will participate in the legal education of the popular masses and all people in the republic, without which a state of law could remain an illusion.

We shall participate in discussions on the creation of a state of law, carried out by other public organizations, scientific and education institutions, individual jurists, and citizens.

We are aware of the fact that the 19th all-union party conference earmarked in its resolution on political reform merely the political line for the creation of a state of law, which could be considered a first expression of the idea of a state of law in the history of the Soviet Union. This is natural, for even in its Leninist interpretation the state of dictatorship of the proletariat was not a state of law. A state of law is an essentially new concept. The need for its creation is dictated by the historical necessity of the process of restructuring on the side of democratic socialism.

We shall contribute to the implementation of a democratic electoral system and, as an organization, shall nominate our candidates for the soviets on all levels, from local to the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Only deputies who are not representing the executive power will have the right to draft legislative bills which are then voted upon. It is a strange situation when the head of an ispolkom department or a minister is a deputy and passes laws which he then must execute.

We call upon you as of now to being to prepare for elections and to nominate for deputies only those who can honestly and on a principled basis struggle for the interests of their village, rayon, or city, the interests of Latvia and of the entire Soviet Union; those who can ensure high professionalism in law-making. We call upon you actively to participate in the electoral campaign, in the elections, and in counting the votes.

Nor shall we forget the fact that the reform of the electoral system, which was ensured by restructuring, for the first time offers the opportunity to turn elections from a formal act into the true manifestation of popular will. Everything is in your hands or, in other words, everything is in our own hands.

We shall struggle for the development of true Soviet federalism in the newly created state of law, so that the sovereignty of each republic may develop on the basis of the principles of economic parity and in accordance with the historical, ecological, national, demographic, and inter-nationality interests of each republic and, in this case, Latvia. We are still facing the need to formulate a general concept of the demographic situation in the Latvian SSR, which would contain a forecast on the development of the population's national structure until the year 2015. Should extensive development of the economy lead to the elimination of fair numerical ratios, Latvia, as a state of the native nationality which gave the republic its name within the Soviet Federation, would be in danger. Such a result is not consistent with restructuring, with the nature of the type of socialism for which the revolutionaries of the first generation struggled, or with the ideal to which we are returning today.

We shall discuss in the press and on the radio and television, at meetings, demonstrations, and so on, the "Concept for the Economic and Social Development of the Latvian SSR for the Period Until the Year 2005," which was published in the press, considering this document not free from the stereotypes of the peak of the period of stagnation and its eclectic attempt to adapt to glasnost.

This concept, which cannot be called such, fails to mention the large economic new construction projects in Latvia and the need for a large source of energy on the republic's territory; it says nothing of substance of the subject of restricting migration as well. The draft concept is an approximation; in a concealed way it includes that same gigantomania of extensive output and thus conflicts with the simple resolution passed by the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau on giving priority to agriculture.

Will the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers ignore the resolution of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and subsequently retain the old industrial structure as the foundation of the republic's economy? A total revolution in the industrial structure is necessary. However, this requires not only new technology but also an essentially new way of thinking and the courage to withstand the pressure of centralized all-union departments. Do the leaders of the Council of Ministers have such a style of thinking and such courage?

Could it be that to this day the psychological atavism of the notorious events of 1959 continue to influence the republic's economic policy, making it use smooth words in addressing itself to society? "In this case particular attention must be paid to eliminating general economic disorder, characteristic of different parts of the country, and acquiring an additional national coloring in areas with a mixed national structure. This includes various conflicts between the interests of the comprehensive territorial development and economic activities of central departments. Replacing national interests with departmental 'efficiency' triggers negative consequences for the regional economy and ecology and an uncontrolled development of demographic processes and, consequently, a worsening of social problems. And if, let us

say, within the borders of one republic unplanned migration may create purely social problems, unplanned inter-republic migration also becomes an inter-nationality problem" (from the report submitted by A.N. Yakovlev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, at a meeting of the party, soviet, and ideological aktiv of the republic. Riga, 10 August 1988).

We call upon you to ask the authors of the "draft concept" what they mean by "replacing national interests with departmental 'efficiency'," and what do they think of the consequences of this foggy concept in the economic, ecological, demographic, and social areas? And also how will uncontrolled migration influence relations among nationalities in the republic?

Are they thinking of those young managers who tomorrow will take over the leadership of the Council of Ministers and who will be responsible for the stupidities committed today while facing a much more exigent society, a society which will not accept being swindled?

We are ready to support with all our strength the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau in the struggle for giving priority to agriculture in the Latvian economy. We believe that as of now a crack has opened between the formally proclaimed priority of agriculture and the true opponents of this economic policy, those who have always tried to struggle against the agrarian sector in Latvia and to uproot it. This is confirmed also by the Stalin-Brezhnev actions aimed against the Latvian peasants and the elimination of their historical farmstead way of life.

We call upon all progressive forces in the republic and the central departments on which this depends to provide real help to the political leadership of the Latvian Communist Party in the revival of the Latvian countryside, including the restoration of the farmsteads.

We call for asserting the proclaimed priority of agriculture in the Latvian economy through a state law to be passed at the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet session which will take place on 6 October 1988.

This law should govern relations between collective economic farming and the management of the new forms, rights, and obligations of family farms, of free lessees, socialist farmers and their relations with the fiscal authorities, social security, and so on.

The Latvian countryside must be revived. But will people who have participated in the destruction of the Latvian countryside economically contribute to its revival and support it in a revolutionary manner? If such officials are still holding economic power in the republic, they must immediately step down.

This will most likely be demanded by the Popular Front which is now being created. It will demand a radical economic reform for the sake of restructuring in Latvia.

Taking into consideration the increased public attention to problems of ecological cleanliness and ethics, we proclaim them a structural part of the struggle for peace, for the criminal accelerated development of Latvian industry threatens the prestige of the Soviet Union not only in the basin of the Baltic Sea but also at the points of contact between our land and air borders with those of other countries.

We deem as our allies all formal and informal associations which are struggling for ecological purity and which are summoning to their ranks anyone who cares for the air we breathe and for mankind, of which we would like to be an honest part. No compromises must be made in the ecological struggle. An ecological crime must be qualified as such.

We systematically favor a realistic and just bilingualism, calling upon the entire population in the republic to master the Latvian and Russian languages. We call for considering the Russian language the inter-republic language and in Latvia, under the actual conditions, Russian, Latvian, and any other language to be a means of inter-nationality communications. Practical experience proves that this is possible. We call for supporting the idea expressed at the expanded plenum of the board of the Writers' Union of establishing a state or an official language in Latvia.

We call upon the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet to pass without delay a law to the effect that the Latvian language is the foundation of the statehood of the sovereign republic and the foundation of national culture, and to acknowledge it as the state language of Latvia. The law must stipulate drafting in the Latvian language the original internal republic legislative acts and other legal documents which would guarantee authentic translation into the Russian language. It must also be stipulated that the personnel of any establishment which by the nature of its activities is in contact with the public guarantee that clerical work and other documents be handled in both Russian and Latvian.

Latvian names and appellations must be protected by the law. It must be stipulated that the law shall guarantee their inviolability. It must be stipulated that the free use of languages is guaranteed in the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic.

We deem it our duty to support the establishment of cultural-educational societies by each ethnic group living in Latvia and support the aspiration of the ethnic groups to study in their own native language and to have ethnographic collectives, exhibits of national culture, song festivals, etc.

We demand an independent educational system in the schools of all ethnic groups and all classes in Latvia. This system must not be subordinate to the wish of the administrative bureaucracy in the center for standardized training methods and textbooks.

Latvian history must become the starting point in the study in the schools of both USSR and world history.

We shall not be hasty in formulating the concepts of forms of Latvian statehood! We are at the initial stage of discussing our debated and mutilated history. We shall let teachers and students become participants in the discussions on Latvian history in class! We shall let society and the science of history develop, within the context of an all-union, European, and world history, a truly scientific concept of the Latvian events of 1939, 1940, and 1941, as well as 1949 and 1959. We shall actively participate in the clarification of this concept!

Vocational-technical training must be totally subordinated to the need for intensifying the republic's industry. Let us close down those vocational-technical schools which cannot recruit students in the republic and which reach out for them in other areas.

We shall retain the right to historic, ethnographic, ethnic, state, national, legal, cultural, philosophical, and ethical assertions of Latvian self-respect in association with the USSR, Europe, and the entire world.

The Latvian Popular Front will struggle for a radical restructuring in the republic, based on the victory of the progressive forces at the 19th all-union party conference. Our work will take place differently: with the help of the press, radio, television, and constitutional-loyal meetings, assemblies, demonstrations, people's manifestations, street processions, picketing, debates, discussions, agitation concerts, and conferences. We must emphasize that the Latvian Popular Front in Riga and elsewhere will participate in the May Day and October demonstrations of the working people and in the mass actions sponsored by other organizations.

The Latvian Popular Front will throw its full support behind all progressive trends in society, in the Latvian Communist Party and in the Communist Party of the entire Soviet Union, and acknowledges that restructuring was inspired by the Communists, aware of their responsibility for a society brought to a state of crisis.

The Latvian Popular Front will cooperate with public organizations in the Soviet Union and abroad. The Latvian Popular Front is ready to engage in a dialogue and discussion on an international level. It is prepared to inform public opinion abroad of the situation in Latvia. It is ready to hear out people from East and West. We shall always be pleased if former citizens of the Latvian republic or their descendants abroad and, naturally, Letts and members of their families living in other republics in the Soviet Union, would like to be in touch with us.

Friends, supporters and dissidents!

If the basic principles and methods of struggle presented in our appeal do not conflict with your conscience, if you accept the firm and definitely socialist nature of the Latvian Popular Front which is being established, remember that mother Latvia expects energetic action on your part. The Latvian Popular Front, which is being created as a democratic movement, does not ask whether you are a Communist or a nonparty member, whether you agree with the opinion of the majority or support exclusively your own views, seek your own God or believe that you have already found Him. We are not interested in surveying you. We need your honest human heart, your awareness and desire to work. We do not expect standardized official dogmas, for popular socialism can exist and develop only on the basis of a state of law which guarantees and protects the variety of citizen's views.

Such is our main ethical foundation.

Coordination Center of the Popular Front.

Cultural Council of Creative Associations.

Language Laws Must 'Protect Everyone'

PM1910155588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent L. Levitskiy report under rubric "Problems and Opinions": "Status of Communication. Estonia Drafting a New Law on State Language"]

[Text] Tallinn—The Estonian newspapers have published the proposals of the working group attached to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the status of the Estonian language. Everyone had been waiting for these publications or, to be more precise, for some clarity regarding this serious problem.

The dispute flared up 6 months ago after a joint plenum of the republic's creative unions. The plenum put forward the idea of trying to secure state status for the Estonian language so that its use does not decline.

The overwhelming majority of the Russian-speaking population has supported these attempts to give the language of the republic a priority role. But feelings have run high as a result of the overemotional tone of the publications themselves, of statements in support of the creative unions' stand, and arbitrary interpretation of the concept of "state language status" and the consequences of adopting a law on this. This has been followed by an equally stormy debate on the introduction of

Estonian citizenship, ways and means of combating emigration, and the conditions for repatriation [remigratsiya]. Everything seems ambiguous against this overwrought social background.

The seriousness of the situation is connected with the present national makeup of the population. There are living in the republic 956,000 Estonians and 614,000 non-Estonians—40 percent of the population. The number of non-Estonians has tripled in the last 30 years. The ill-considered location of production units—for which union and republic-level bodies are responsible—is taking its toll. In addition to this, people who move to the republic are not helped to assimilate the Estonian language, culture, and way of life. Hardly anyone has tried to become bilingual. The population is divided on the basis of language. The Estonians have their own kindergartens, schools, enterprises, and regions, and the Russians have theirs. People have preferred not to talk about this. The compulsory slogans on internationalism and friendship between peoples have concealed the Estonians' dissatisfaction with the situation. Hence the unanimous support for the ideas of Estonian citizenship and an Estonian state language. They have become program principles for the Popular Front, a political movement formed in Estonia.

The Russian-speaking population has formed the—albeit small—international movement as a counterweight to the Popular Front on precisely these problems, or, to be more precise, to protect its own interests. The supporters of this movement favor both Estonian and Russian being recognized as state languages. A third organization recently made its appearance—the united council of labor collectives of large enterprises. The stand taken by the council is that there should either be real bilingualism or two state languages. This approach has been prompted by neighboring Finland. Some 8 percent of its population are Swedes. Despite this, two state languages with full rights can develop in that country without any impediment to either.

The mistrust of the Russian-speaking population has increased since press reports on the formation of the group attached to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium that will work out the status of the Estonian language. The group has more than 20 members, only three of whom are Russian. Why this ratio?

"Because we are concerned with establishing the status of the Estonian language," came the official reply, which only increased the rumors and confusion.

The situation was eased slightly after the recent Estonian Communist Party Central Committee plenum. Its participants supported proposals on the status of the Estonian language. But they emphasized that any national discrimination would be intolerable. That is why such attention has been given to the preliminary version—albeit only the first—of a solution to the language problem. The Supreme Soviet Presidium working group has proposed introducing an article into the Constitution establishing Estonian as a state language. It is planned to supplement this with a special law guaranteeing that official correspondence throughout the republic will be conducted in Estonian. It will be binding on all institutions, enterprises, and organizations in their work. It is true, however, that the Council of Ministers may permit some of them, even entire regions, to conduct some of their official correspondence in Russian or other languages. The new law will protect the Estonian language while giving people who do not speak it the right and opportunity to participate as equals in social life.

It is up to the labor collectives and the specialists and experts to make a detailed study of the proposals. The problem is too serious and vague for the country as a whole. Science has no recommendations to make on the status of state languages in the USSR and the individual republics. Working on quotes taken from Lenin, scientists only convince us of this and of the need for extreme caution and responsibility when such an important issue is being decided for many years to come. True, there is a precedent. The Transcaucasian republics have already given their national languages state status. But this status is realized in the form of real bilingualism.

Has proper understanding been shown for the attitudes and fears of 40 percent of the republic's population? Judging by the numerous telephone calls to the correspondents' center, they have not been fully considered. Everyone supports the working group's proposals to create the conditions for Estonian language study for anyone who wants it. And to establish a list of professions and offices in which only people who can speak both languages may work. The term "everyday nationalism" has appeared as this phenomenon has become increasingly palpable. It is more and more difficult to find a chart or a guide in Russian in department buildings. But, on the whole the working group's proposals are considered more radical than the discussion at the Central Committee plenum, the theses of Estonian scientists published in the press, and many other earlier proposals.

The group's proposals do not even make any mention of the language of interethnic communication. How can official correspondence be conducted in Estonian if all technical documentation—prepared in different cities and sometimes even in different republics—is in Russian? And what about the hundreds of suppliers and consumers of our products outside Estonia? It would be like laying a mine under the economy! How is it possible to master the national language in a realistic period of time in those cities where there are not even enough teachers to teach Estonian children their own language? These are the questions being asked by the united council of labor collectives. And the conclusion: We are right to insist on two state languages—Estonian and Russian. The history of the distant past and recent history have convinced us of the harm done by edicts, coercion, and the violation of people's rights in the name of "class," "people," and "nation." So why increase

these examples? It goes without saying that the interests of the indigenous nation are paramount. But interests that have objective causes can be resolved on a democratic, legal basis. All people living in Estonia will benefit from this. The question of a state language is not a question of which language documents, signs, and the labels on goods should be written in. It is not even a question of which language we communicate with one another in. It is a question of how we are going to live in the future. In one home or in communal apartments.... This means we need a law that will protect everyone in the republic and prevent mutual resentment. There has been too much of that in the past.

Feature on Awakening of 'National Awareness'
PM2110150188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

["Topical Subject" feature comprising readers' letters and unattributed commentary under the general heading "One Land, One Destiny"]

[Text] For the Sake of Truth and Honesty [subhead]

I was born and raised in Saratov, and I graduated from school and university there. But I have been living in Lithuania for 9 years now, 6 of them as a history teacher. In this time I have come to know and love the republic and its industrious and talented people. For centuries they endured much suffering, but, despite this, they retained their own unique culture and traditions. I have always sensed their sincere goodwill toward people of other nationalities.

The growth in national awareness that has started under restructuring has evoked in me nothing but good feelings. But now when I look at this movement, certain circumstances make me wonder whether some of its activists envision something more than a narrow concept of "national" interests. Most offensive of all is when they enlist history to serve their own ambitions and when the interpretation of certain events from the past is clearly at odds with the truth. History is a science, so no reasons can justify historical speculation.

I think that in the atmosphere of glasnost we should not keep quiet about the complex processes taking place in the republic. The development of national culture, rallies, and demonstrations are all marvelous, but anonymous telephone threats to people of a different nationality, hunger strikes in the capital's squares, and the dissemination of absurd rumors aimed at sowing discord between people are another matter!... If people's national dignity is affronted and if people patently attempt to blame representatives of another nation for their problems, thus demonstrating their national exclusivity, then that is sheer nationalism—there is no other word for it. I think that no truly intelligent person or self-respecting scientist, teacher, or writer would ever turn his knowledge against other peoples.

S. Bezrukova, history teacher. Shyaulyay City, Lithuanian SSR.

I Am Proud! [subhead]

The newspaper VECHERNIY TALLINN has recently been publishing articles in which the viewpoint of a single person or a group of writers is elevated to the level of nationwide opinion. In particular, one article asserted the Estonian people's hostility to the Russian language and tried to persuade readers that such disdain allegedly prevails abroad as well. It seems that somebody is indulging in wishful thinking—to suit antirestructuring forces. Unhealthy emotions sometimes go beyond all the bounds of decency and obscure a clear view of reality. To what end?

Merchant seamen who visit foreign countries are well aware of the growing respect for our country worldwide. In many everyday situations they can also sense foreigners' interest in Russian. The prestige of the language spoken and written by Lenin is indisputable! And I am proud of that.

Ed. Yanson, CPSU member and foreman at the Tallinn Maritime College Production Association. Estonian SSR.

Getting to Know Each Other Better [subhead]

We know every little about the cultural values and national features of the USSR's peoples. It is possible, of course, to go on an excursion, but not everybody has that opportunity. I suggest making it the norm to have at least monthly (or perhaps even weekly) TV linkups between union republics and USSR cities and villages. In no way am I opposed to Russian as a means of interethnic communication, but I would also like to hear on television the languages spoken in the auls of Central Asia and the settlements of the polar region. Let people speak their native language if their Russian is not good enough—simultaneous interpreting is possible, after all! People should talk sincerely about their lives, concerns, and dreams. Let them display their national art and share with us songs and dances from their national treasure house. It strikes me that such programs would bring our peoples closer together and help to us to understand and solve many problems.

S. Kamalov, journalist. Kirovabad City, Azerbaijan SSR.

We Need a Festival of Fellowship [subhead]

Personally, I am very worried about the fate of restructuring and would like it to proceed more confidently and quickly. But to this end I think it very important for us to try jointly to find the right ways and best solution in interethnic relations.

People of any nationality should feel that they are full citizens of the country. Let 30 December—the day of the USSR's formation—be celebrated informally as a genuine festival of our fellowship.

V. Damurchiyev, labor veteran. Pyatigorsk City, Stavropol Kray.

[commentary begins] There is no such thing as a person without ties. From the first moments of his life he is the child not only of his parents but of his people, a receptor of their history and culture. The right to be proud of one's roots and to continue the traditions and glory of one's ancestors is an inalienable right, like life itself. But let us recall how much blood has been shed when someone tried to prove the unprovable—the superiority of one people over another. Polyglot mankind has dreamed for centuries of a time when "the peoples, forgetting their differences, will join in one great family." However, only now, with the assertion of new political thinking, is there a growing realization of the priority of worldwide values over other values and the need to live on our common planet in harmony and concord.

The possibility of uniting peoples on an equal footing was indisputably proven by the Great October Socialist Revolution. And if today we are talking in this country about accumulated problems in interethnic relations and certain complications in this area, the blame for that lies with the subsequent deviations from the Leninist nationalities policy, the bureaucratic sidelining of rational interests, and many years' neglect of the entire social sphere—concealed, what is more, behind irresponsible ideological cliches. Restructuring has candidly brought all these deformations to light and revealed sore points. But it has also created all the necessary conditions for democratically resolving questions of concern to society.

One of the most important components of restructuring is the awakening of Soviet people's national awareness. It nourishes individuals' growing social activeness and makes it easier to involve the most varied sections of the population more rapidly in the process of transformations. The People's Front set up in a number of republics to support restructuring rightly opposes departmental diktat to the detriment of the full authority of the soviets and the economic independence of labor collectives. It also opposes the infringement of linguistic and other legitimate rights and interests of a number of nations and ethnic groups, and ill-conceived decisions in the sphere of ecology.... By pooling efforts in these areas, we will undoubtedly overcome the negative phenomena of past years and achieve real results in renewal.

We should not, however, close our eyes to the fact that the fertile soil of restructuring has given life not only to grasses but to weeds. They are preying particularly freely on national problems. With reference to "blank spots" in history, certain pundits have been distorting the truth willy-nilly, causing hostility to representatives of other peoples. They are trying to make national languages—which undoubtedly deserve to be fully developed—not so much a means of communication as a way of alienating neighbors. Proposing the introduction of separate citizenship in union republics, they demand that it be conditional on certain residency qualifications and a number of other restrictions, which is essentially an attempt to discriminate on national grounds. But when it is a question of economic difficulties they seek guilty parties outside the republic instead of looking for fundamental causes and solutions. Even the idea of economic accountability [khozraschet] is reduced virtually to a question of regional isolation.

But let's think for a minute: Why replace one kind of distortion with another? Who needs discord and mistrust between peoples of different nationalities, or—to use V.I. Lenin's words—an "interminable national squabble"? Is it needed by workers—whose common labor, released by restructuring from bureaucratic fetters, is creating tomorrow's world-class technology and is a cause for national pride? Is it needed by peasants—whose previously stifled sense of being guardians of the land and nationwide food providers is being reawakened? Is it needed by mothers—whose sons are found at construction sites or in military service and are often subject to attempts to turn brother against brother?

No, the peoples of the Land of the Soviets have borne their unity aloft not just on banners—their unity is in people's destiny, their deeds, and their hearts. None of our nations "gained" at the expense of others during the years of stagnation; just as none of the peoples avoided bitter losses during the period of Stalin's tyranny. Our union is a united and inseparable economic organism wherein each republic's contribution is paid for by the labor contributions of all other republics. And those who wax lyrical about the years of separate economic management should not count on the people's historical forgetfulness: There was no abundant "paradise," there was just always the constant labor of the people, who created our material and spiritual culture.

Restructuring, as life is demonstrating, is a hard job that will take some time and requires consolidation and unity. Together we will cope with our problems more quickly, all the more so as nobody is going to present us with anything on a silver platter. The decisive voice in pooling efforts lies, of course, with Communists. Democratization and glasnost do not restrict their sphere of influence; on the contrary, they open up the broadest opportunities for their work. Yet certain party organizations have fallen into an ideological torpor, giving a platform to loudmouths and demagogues. Internationalism, according to Marx, is the litmus test for party attitudes. And we cannot allow the national nihilism of the recent past to be replaced by nationalism. The future lies with internationalism. Fighting for it and asserting it in people's consciousness and work also means achieving genuine prosperity for our own nations and happiness for our own peoples.

Kirghizia SSR Adopts Environmental Program

LD2210215688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1215 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] Frunze, 22 Oct (TASS)—The government of the Soviet Central Asian republic of Kirghizia has adopted a complex environmental protection program for the period up to the year 2005.

"If one compares the ecological situation in Kirghizia with the situation in the European regions of the USSR, then we look to be in a much better position," said Ivan Molotkov, chairman of the republican committee for problems of the protection of nature and the economics of the use of nature, commenting on the new document. "But nevertheless, the pollution of the cities of Frunze, Osh, and Kara-Balta significantly exceeds the sanitary norms established in the USSR. It is chiefly caused by dust, smoke from boiler houses, car exhaust fumes, and chemical fertilizers."

Molotkov went on to explain that the adopted program will be implemented on the basis of new economic methods of managing the economy and taking into account the most up-to-date achievements of science and technology. It has been decided to use 7,000 hectares for forest plantations by the year 2000. An area of 477,000 hectares of land will be protected from erosion using agricultural methods. Forest zones, the laying of which has already begun, will surround all the towns in the republic.

One of the most important points in the new program is the regulation of water resources. The flooding of agricultural land will no longer be tolerated during the construction of reservoirs. Land improvement workers are stopping the feeding of water along the irrigation canal system. Boiler houses are being converted from solid fuel to gas. Vehicles, the chief means of transport in the republic, will gradually be converted to this same fuel.

It has been decided to add to the four nature reserves already existing in the republic another five reserves with an overall area of 240,000 hectares. Another eight Przhevalsk horses, located in the picturesque clearings and mountain plateaux near the towns of Osh and Naryn, are to be added to the stock of the only national park, Ala-Archa. Travel here will be allowed on horseback, bicycles, and on foot.

As Molotkov reported, R550 million is being allocated to the new ecology program, which is 3.5 times more than was released for the same period before.

Resolution Declares 5 Nov Working Day

LD2610112688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] A report from the USSR Council of Ministers: Our government has adopted a resolution that 5 November be considered a working day. In return for working on this day, workers and staff will get a day off at another time, or pay will be given in accordance with the procedures and conditions envisaged by the existing legislation. If you wish, this day may be included in your annual leave in the same way that other days of leave are paid.

25 Oct Legislative Commission Session Noted

PM2610150288 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Oct 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Toward Legal Support for Restructuring"]

[Text] A session of the Legislative Proposals Commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities was held in the Kremlin 25 October. It examined the question of progress in fulfilling the plan for the drafting of USSR legislative acts, USSR Government resolutions, and proposals for improving legislation in 1986-1990.

After hearing a briefing from USSR Minister of Justice B.V. Kravtsov, the commissions noted that in accordance with the 27th CPSU Congress decisions and with a view to providing legal support for restructuring, a number of laws have been drawn up and adopted that are of fundamental significance for the development of democracy and glasnost, the implementation of the economic reform, and the boosting of Soviet people's social activeness. Among them are, first and foremost, the USSR Laws "On the Nationwide Discussion of Important Questions of State Life," "On the State Enterprise (Association)," "On the Cooperative System in the USSR," and "On Individual Labor Activity."

Great significance for the implementation of economic reform is attached to the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions adopted in the course of 1987-1988, as well as USSR Government resolutions on questions of the cardinal restructuring of planning, material and technical supply, the management of scientific and technical progress, the financial mechanism and the banking system, the improvement of statistical work, and the restructuring of the activity of ministries and departments.

At the same time it was stressed at the session that in the work of drafting certain legislative acts major shortcomings occur in quality, as well as laggardness in relation to the planned schedule for drafting the acts. USSR ministries and departments do not always ensure the careful preparation of draft laws; they make poor use of science and of experience in the application of the law, still cling to departmental interests, do not take sufficient account of public opinion, make poor use of glasnost and the potential of social organizations, and rarely organize objective expert reports on specific proposals incorporated in the drafts of normative acts.

In the resolution adopted, the commissions instructed the USSR Ministry of Justice and other USSR ministries, state committees, and departments, in accordance with the instructions of the 19th all-union party conference, to resolutely improve this work and to take maximum account of restructuring's requirements for legal protection for every Soviet working person and for the labor collectives' interests, and for an increase in the responsibility of state organs for the efficient functioning of the legal mechanism in all spheres of economic and public life.

The commissions adopted a decision on forming a deputies' subcommission to summarize and examine materials from the nationwide discussion of the draft USSR Law on Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR and the draft USSR Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies.

On the same day there was a joint session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities Transport and Communications Commissions and Legislative Proposals Commissions. The deputies examined the question of the draft USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree "On Amendments and Additions to USSR Legislative Acts on Responsibility for Violating the Road Traffic Rules."

Amendments and additions were made to the draft decree submitted for the commissions' conclusions based on the proposals of deputies, labor collectives, and the public and aimed at stepping up responsibility for gross violations of the road traffic rules, including driving while drunk. The commissions approved the conclusions on the draft decree and submitted them to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and leaders of a number of ministries and departments took part in the sessions.

Armed Forces Society Elects New Chairman

LD2110160988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] We have already reported that yesterday the plenum of the Central Committee of DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Airforce and Navy] of the USSR took place. Colonel General Nikolay Nikiforovich (Kotlovtsev) has been elected as its chairman. The plenum was lively and businesslike. Its participants revealed many reasons for negligence and shortcomings in defense, mass military, patriotic, educational, and sporting work, and set out specific measures to improve work in all spheres of activity of this society.

Vlasov Chairs RSFSR Ministers Session 24 Oct

LD2410221388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1930 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] I cannot fail to mention the data of the USSR State Committee for Statistics on the results of national social and economic development for 9 months of this year. Although we have devoted a great deal of attention to this document, we will again return to this topic, since what is at issue is the development of our whole economy.

Now, a brief word about some current trends. It is important that the improvement in the economy is further developed. It must be stated that scientific-technical progress, resource conservation, and quality have still not become decisive growth factors. These serious shortcomings were also noted at a session of the RSFSR Council of Ministers where the issue of the republic's social and economic development and the tasks after the end of this were considered.

The session was conducted and addressed by Comrade Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

The USSR Supreme Soviet deputies who gathered today for the second plenary session on planning and the budget, and representatives of other standing commissions of the chambers, have already considered drafts of the plan and budget for the coming year.

These questions are being put forward for discussion by the session of the highest body of state power of the country which opens in 2 days.

Zaykov, Ryzhkov Visit Zil Works 24 Oct

LD2410235688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrades Ryzhkov and Zaykov today met the workers of the Zil production association. Here is a report on that meeting.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent A. Tikhomirov] The meetings at Zil began with an inspection of an exhibition of goods, for the future of the renowned association also determines to some extent the possibility of producing such refrigerators. [video shows Ryzhkov, Zaykov inspecting refrigerators and other household equipment]

The problems with consumer goods can't be minor if the chairman of the Council of Ministers is up to solving them now. That's how it was here. The question of manufacturing megnetrons for these ovens was resolved today. A manufacturing works was designated and the knot was cut, as it were. [video shows microwave oven]

But have we matured sufficiently recently to finally understand what knots the economy is tied up on? The economy is tied up in such knots that it will take years and years not to cut them, but to disentangle them. This is the picture that one sees today.

Almost 90 percent of the active equipment at the Zil works in Moscow has worn out. Through habit the chief of the pressing shop said to us: Don't film the old things, don't present us in that light. Then he related himself how things were here and how surprised the Japanese had been. We are hindered so much by the lack of steadiness and stability in the operation of all industries, Nikolay Ryzhkov said last Wednesday at the meeting of the Council of Ministers. The differences in levels of technical equipment are obvious even in this one shop. Is this not a cause of uneven production? Here are robots, and beside them is a press which is as old, probably, as this name from British history. [video shows people working at machinery, including robots and a machine bearing the inscription "The Hamilton Press and Machinery Co"]

Hundreds of meters from one another are electronic miracles: an automated design system where Zil workers and scientists are laying the foundation for the workplaces of the 21st century, and hard, exhausting labor. Overall, to put it simply, Zil is awaiting help. As Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov noted today, this help must arrive in time. He said: We have become accustomed to helping those who are totally foundering, who present everyone with the fact of virtual industrial failure. Zil has always satisfied requirements, and is doing so now, but it is already scratching together its last reserves. Incidentally, I want to explain that it's not so much a matter of today as of the future, which presents the Zil workers with a strange word: dieselization. That is, the transfer in two stages of the whole association to the production of these diesel trucks. In 1989 30,000 of them are to come off the production line, and in 1990 40,000, and so on until it reaches 220,000 per year. [video shows Ryzhkov and Zaykov talking to workers]

These trucks are Zil 43-31. I shall add that there will be two trucks for every worker in the association if the number of people there doesn't grow; that is, 220,000. And of course, it will be more if the number of workers drops. But will it? This is a very serious question—a more serious one even than the construction of the new smelting works at Yartsevo, of which much was said today. They paid attention to how many workers from Vietnam there were on the main production line. They are an integral part of the 8,000-strong army of contemporary workers who have been attracted to Zil. Of course, it's very strange that Moscow's 9 million people cannot satisfy Zil's workforce requirements. Can this problem be solved without bringing into the capital new detachments of workers from other towns? This and the acceleration of technical modernization were the subjects of conversation today at Zil. [video shows more factory scenes; Zaykov and Ryzhkov at conference with officials.

Zaykov Attends Moscow Gorkom Session 21 Oct

LD2210084788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] On 21 October a session of the Moscow Soviet discussed the progress in implementing the USSR Council of Ministers' decision on the comprehensive reconstruction and building up as far ahead as the year 2000 of the historic center of Moscow. Deputies pointedly posed the questions of a radical improvement in the ecological situation and reducing the burden of transport on the central thoroughfares. The comprehensive reconstruction and building up of the center is being advanced as one of the major national economic and social tasks. Permanent official and public monitoring of all stages in the reconstruction of the historical center will be established.

The session also examined the question of the state of measures to improve physical culture and health work in Moscow. Participating in the work of the session was Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom.

More on 15 Oct Zaykov Address to Propagandists

PM2410143188 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Oct 88 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "Assertive and Fruitful Propaganda for Restructuring. Meeting of Capital's Propaganda Workers With Moscow Party Gorkom Secretaries"]

[Excerpts] A meeting of the capital's propaganda workers with Moscow Gorkom secretaries was held in the Moscow CPSU Gorkom 15 October.

The meeting was opened by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

Our meeting, he noted, is being held at the start of the new academic year in the system of Marxist-Leninist education. The content and methods of ideological work today are determined by the 19th all-union party conference's decisions. Now, when restructuring has become a matter of practical work by the masses, party committees and the ideological aktiv must engage in purposeful and consistent work to achieve real results in implementing the directives of the conference and CPSU Central Committee plenums.

The basic guidelines for the restructuring of the system of working people's political and economic instruction are laid down in the well-known party Central Committee resolution. This document formulates tasks whose fulfillment will make it possible to make political and economic instruction an effective lever for implementing radical economic reform, deepening democratization, and accelerating development in the social sphere.

Today's meeting will help to bring to light reserves for enhancing the effectiveness of ideological work, to generalize experience, and to decide on immediate measures to eliminate everything that still prevents us from ensuring unity of word and deed in our work.

The Moscow party organization has every opportunity for efficient conduct of ideological work. We have a large detachment of mature and highly skilled social scientists and propaganda workers, we also have a strong base—a broad network of political education houses and rooms and universities of Marxism-Leninism. The party's leading ideological institutions are concentrated in our city.

But this mighty potential is still inadequately utilized. Formalism, dogmatism, routine, verbiage, and stereotypes are only slowly disappearing from propaganda work. This is why it is suggested that today we exchange opinions on how to structure our work in the new conditions, when the reform of the political system is advancing along a broad front, with demarcation between the functions of party, soviet, and economic organs and development of democratism and glasnost. How are every Communist and nonparty person to be reached, how are party committees' ties with the masses to be strengthened, how is the city party organization's role in restructuring to be enhanced?

In the conditions of the reorganization of the apparatus, party committees are consolidating their ideological departments and are abandoning subdivisions along sectorial lines. It is important to intensify party leadership of the ideological tempering and economic training of Communists and nonparty people and to prevent any slackening of this leadership.

At the stage of Soviet society's qualitative renewal, it is necessary to provide organizational and ideological backing for restructuring. It is necessary to have a joint discussion on how to increase actual returns on political and economic instruction and to subordinate it to the practical needs of restructuring and to find out what prevents this and how to bring Marxist-Leninist education closer to today's specific tasks. What must be done to anticipate events rather than following in their wake? You propaganda workers know well what perturbs Muscovites today and what their requirements are. It is important for us to hear your assessments of the moods of the city's working people and the political situation in Moscow.

A lively and frank exchange of opinions ensued. Members of the well-qualified audience reacted differently to their comrades' speeches. An approving welcome was given to specific proposals, constructive criticism, and reflections on the propaganda worker's role in restructuring. At the same time, the audience actively rejected attempts by individual participants to follow the well-trodden path of enumerating production indicators and their unself-critical assessments of their labor.

The number of persons wishing to speak was far greater than the collectively elaborated procedural rules could allow for. The dialogue with the secretaries continued during the break and after the meeting had ended. [passage omitted]

Summing up the results of the meeting, L.N. Zaykov noted that the discussion had been useful for everyone.

The speeches, the rejoinders from the floor, and the written notes objectively depict the ideological and moral situation in Moscow, displayed the shoots of new experience in efficient work and the difficulties in overcoming the old thinking, and raised serious questions. All proposals will be painstakingly examined in the gorkom, the Moscow Gorispolkom, and, if need be, in central organs. The Moscow CPSU Gorkom Propaganda and Agitation Department and the party raykom will promptly notify propaganda workers of any measures that are taken.

The meeting reaffirmed that the capital's propaganda corps has a strong, ideologically staunch, and competent nucleus. It is a force on which the party gorkom can rely in the implementation of the all-union party conference decisions. At the same time, we sensed again that it is necessary to strengthen the leadership of ideological processes and the party influence on the content and methods of economic and political instruction.

It is well known that the Central Committee recently discussed the work of Ulyanovsk Oblast party organs on these questions. On what was attention focused? Primarily on the fact that political methods of party leadership come to the forefront in the conditions of openness and glasnost and further democratization. And the system of Marxist-Leninist education acquires tremendous importance as an instrument for strengthening people's conviction that the changes now under way are irreversible and as a means for boosting the working people's creative activeness.

It is necessary to resolutely eliminate the underrating of theory and the scornful and technocratic attitude toward self-education on the part of some Communists and leadership cadres. Propaganda workers must be regularly informed of the most important and typical problems facing the city party organization and consequently its ideological aktiv.

Raykom and party committee secretaries must have more frequent meetings with propaganda workers. For example, the secretaries and apparatus workers of Kuybyshevskiy, Krasnogvardeyskiy, and Baumanskiy Rayons are right to personally conduct seminars with labor collectives. Theoretical instruction must be more closely related to the practical tasks of party organizations and labor collectives. Today's speakers have shown

what helps and what hinders the enhancement of propaganda's efficiency. Just ponder the figure, Comrades: Moscow's propaganda workers alone number about 100,000.

An impressive force, on the face of it. But why is it that still only a few workers, team leaders, and foremen are well-versed in elementary economic accountability? Why is the level of the population's legal literacy still low? Why are demagogues, the fainthearted, and conservatives skillfully rebuffed only on rare occasions? How do we explain the fact that Muscovites, as a rule, are well-informed on events abroad, yet are not familiar with decisions by rayispolkoms and administrations directly affecting the interests of residents and labor collectives.

I think that one of the reasons is the fact that many members of our ideological aktiv have forgotten Lenin's demand that propaganda "does not amuse or dupe the masses by means of political tidbits and trifles, but submits questions of daily economics for judgment by the masses and promotes the serious study of these questions."

Today's discussion has more clearly brought to light the main reasons for the failure to progress in our ideological work. These are the still frequent shallow and superficial familiarity with the work of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and the desire to make do with quotations out of context. What is needed in actual fact is, first and foremost, to learn the ability to dialectically analyze the situation and draw the correct conclusions. Whole strata of the CPSU's political, economic, and ideological activity remain untouched, and so discussions at lectures and seminars are at times based on superficial judgments and philistine arguments.

One of the natural demands on propaganda workers, and one that is especially topical today, is that they have an accurate knowledge of party committee decisions. Without this it is impossible to pursue the party line or to conduct a well-argued discussion with the audience.

You have obviously worked your way through the materials of the gorkom's 24 September plenum. But since the tasks it set are of fundamental importance for the city party organization, let me briefly recap the main points.

The key issue is the practical demarcation between the functions of party and soviet organs and the ensuring of full power for the soviets. It is in pursuit of these goals that we have launched the implementation of the new master plan for the management of Moscow's economy and the reorganization of the gorkom's and the party raykoms' apparatus.

The essence of change in the city's soviet organs and the ispolkom's services lies basically in the transition to a two-tier structure and the introduction of primarily economic methods of management. In this process, the primary economically accountable production links will be strengthened and they will be given broad functions and powers. There will be significant growth in rayons' independence with simultaneous enhancement of responsibility for the state of affairs in their territory and the satisfaction of residents' urgent needs. The soviets' administrative apparatus will be cut back and will become cheaper to run. Its subordination to elected organs, to sessions of the soviet, to the soviet's permanent commissions, and to people's deputies will be restored in practice.

L.N. Zaykov emphasized that the main issue concerns not structural rearrangements but the need to ensure that Muscovites sense as early as possible tangible changes for the better in daily life, trade, services, and housing conditions.

What is already being done to fundamentally improve food supplies, and primarily fruit and vegetable supplies in the city?

The system of food supplies and sales is undergoing fundamental change, or rather it is being created anew, with clearly defined financial and administrative responsibility all along the "cultivation-storage-market" chain. In this context, the capital and the Moscow region must be viewed as a single organism supplied by the network of agro-industrial combines according to identical norms.

The task of imposing proper order in the capital's trade and public catering is part and parcel of the solution of this problem. Muscovites are fully justified in feeling indignant about the disorder which flourishes in this sphere, the periodical disappearance of basic goods, and the low standards. This creates a breeding ground for all sorts of wheeler-dealers.

The party gorkom plenum made it incumbent upon all Communists working in the trade network and the relevant party committees to adopt urgent measures to eliminate the disgraceful conditions in Moscow's stores by year's end. Stricter monitoring will be carried out by soviet, trade union, and law enforcement organs. The initial steps by the renascent workers' control are already having an effect. It is necessary to ensure that the ideological aktiv—and not just in trade organizations—is not left behind. You must use your proper methods to actively propagandize lease and contract forms of work, to inculcate intolerance of abuses and indiscipline, and to help boost the standards of service.

The Moscow Gorkom plenum adapted the directive concerning the social reorientation of the economy to Moscow's conditions and defined the tasks of the capital's Communists as regards expanding the volume and range of products and improving the quality of consumer goods. Propaganda efforts in this important area of restructuring must be targeted on inculcating moral responsibility for the honor of the capital's brand names

and ensuring that the basics of economic accountability are firmly mastered by all who, regardless of the sector where they work, are involved in the manufacture of goods for the people.

The closer we get to the party deadline by which every Soviet family should have a separate home, the more rigid become the demands for the proper functioning of the construction industry's production process, for efficiency in the construction industry, for comprehensive development of new microrayons, and for observance of the principle of fairness in housing allocation. In line with the tasks set by the gorkom plenum for Moscow's construction industry workers, the ideological aktivs of all subdivisions of the Mosstroykomitet [expansion unknown] are called upon to concentrate their efforts on explaining specific tasks in their labor collectives which will make it possible to solve the housing problem without fail. Much here is directly dependent on conscientious work by the construction industry workers, and therefore on the quality of educational work and the skill in raising the prestige of construction industry trades.

Strenuous but nonetheless realistic tasks have been set for providing political and organizational support for the development of the capital's health care services, public education, culture, transport, and other vital functions in the city.

The way the ideological aktiv informs all working people and residents of these decisions and the way it manages to rally the city's residents for joint work to boost the pace of restructuring in Moscow will determine the specific results of restructuring. As before, however, some propaganda workers are afraid to mix with the masses and to discuss the most pressing problems in lively and direct debate with people. They prefer tried and tested topics, safe topics.

The result of this stance is that Muscovites are uninformed about the true state of affairs and are forced to rely on rumors and conjectures. I saw this for myself once again during meetings with residents of Severnyy Chertanov and Bittsa.

The solution of the question of the five-story blocks is being intolerably protracted. A rash promise to demolish them was made in the past, but now it is already clear that this solution was not based on reality. We must at long last bluntly and honestly tell the residents of five-story blocks how we could possibly and specifically improve their living conditions.

The same applies to the so-called quota workers. It was correctly decided to stop bringing manpower from outside the city into Moscow, but the decision did not take practicalities into account and there was no clear-cut program for the release of manpower by removing ecologically harmful and unsuitable enterprises from the capital. And so now we are forced to reap, as it were, the fruit of hasty and rash decisions. The party gorkom is approached by leaders of major enterprises and production veterans, especially from the Zil plant, with persistent requests to be allowed to resume recruitment of workers from outside the city to bring their collectives up to to strength.

In their opinion, this alone can save the city's economy. This is not correct. The way out of the manpower shortage lies primarily through accelerated retooling and the introduction of advanced forms of labor organization. Propaganda workers must convincingly explain this.

The new general plan for the development of the capital's region through the year 2010 and the "Progress-95" comprehensive territorial-sectorial program for the intensification of Moscow's economy are called upon to solve many social tasks. Their elaboration and implementation are unimaginable without Muscovites' broadest possible participation, without the labor collective councils exercising their powers in full. The task of propaganda workers is to teach working people to exercise their new rights and to inculcate in them a feeling of proper stewardship.

You asked here today: What are the main threats to the successful implementation of radical economic reform? Let me answer.

Wage leveling is one of the dangers along this path. It is necessary to activate in practice the main principle of socialism—from each according to his ability, to each according to his labor. The remuneration of labor based on lofty conscientiousness must be fair. You only get what you have earned.

We need without fail consistency in all decisionmaking. As V.I. Lenin warned in the past, the fear of admitting your own mistake can be an obstacle. To persist in one's own delusions can only aggravate the state of affairs and retard progress.

The brakes are, of course, applied by the still existing conservatism of thinking, which we all find it so difficult to abandon. This is why it is necessary to learn to manage in the new fashion, resolutely rejecting administrative methods.

Generally speaking, and let everyone hear me, quite a few complications lie ahead. Of course it would be nice to know where you are likely to stumble in order to put a mat there to cushion your fall. But life is not like that. It constantly presents us with new and increasingly complex problems.

When it comes to ideological work, it is impossible to ignore the fact that Muscovites are perturbed by socio-economic questions which directly affect their living standards, including the rising retail prices for goods and

services and the process of "erosion" of the range of cheaper goods. This alarming trend arouses a negative reaction from the population, especially people on low incomes.

This question was discussed the day before yesterday at a session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, which perceived as intolerable the practice of unjustified increases in prices and charges, of improving enterprises' financial indicators by raising the prices of their output, and of curtailing the production of cheaper goods.

It is obvious that the situation with regard to prices is one of the causes of the population's dissatisfaction with anomalies in the cooperative movement. There can be no question that certain positive results have come from the activity of cooperatives and persons engaged in individual labor. The volume of goods and services sold by them since the beginning of this year has increased manyfold. But some of Moscow's cooperative members, as yesterday's article in SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA showed, have taken the path of defrauding the state and the consumer. Instead of satisfying demand, they are pursuing the goal of earning unlawful profits.

Take for example the Rizhskiy Market, with which Muscovites are rightly annoyed. When the decision to allocate part of its floor area to cooperative members was made, the idea was to lease the second story. What has happened is that cooperative members have fully occupied not only the market itself but even the area around it, selling substandard garishly packaged goods at three times the normal price. All sorts of "thimbleriggers" and other shady elements flourish there. And yet the Moscow City Soviet and the financial and law enforcement organs seem to be turning a blind eye and overlooking all the outrages.

In short, the cooperative movement today is still not helping enough to unblock the chokepoints in public catering and the supply of goods and services to the population. Cooperatives should not be substitutes for state trade, they must be its natural supplement. Negative trends must be resolutely eradicated, but without casting doubts about the future of the cooperative movement as a whole.

This must be patiently explained to people, soviet and economic leaders must be oriented in this direction, and they must be helped to solve any emerging problems.

The party gorkom systematically provides information on specific measures being adopted to alleviate "sore spots" and to solve the questions which perturb Muscovites.

Serious efforts have been made over the past few months to improve supplies of fruit and vegetables for the city's residents, and urgent tasks for the consolidation of public order in Moscow were examined a few days ago. Here there can be no supplanting soviet, economic, or law enforcement organs. It is necessary to constantly monitor the situation and to guide the development of events along the right tracks, since many daily life problems at times evolve into political ones.

The attention of participants in the meeting was drawn to the role of propaganda in work with so-called "informal associations." It is necessary to proceed from the premise that the emergence of diverse self-motivated formations is a positive phenomenon in itself, reflecting the further development of socialist democracy and the unprecedented increase in Soviet people's social activeness. As a rule, party committees and the ideological aktiv overcome the former confusion and indecisiveness toward nontraditional formations, skillfully influence the political orientation of such groups, and channel their energy toward the solution of specific socially important questions concerning the organization of young people's free time and the protection of the environment and of historical and cultural monuments.

Nevertheless, the "informals" have not been successfully involved everywhere in constructive cooperation in the interests of restructuring. Labor and study collectives often miss the chance when it is still possible to achieve by persuasion a change of stance by someone who expresses dubious political views or puts forward demagogical demands. Such people then find supporters, establish contacts with instigators, and, in abuse of democracy, move on to openly antisocial actions.

This at times leads to the emergence of groupings with extremist leanings claiming the role of opposition, distributing leaflets, organizing unauthorized rallies at which slogans hostile to our system can be heard, and engaging in other unlawful actions. In this context propaganda workers must, in the first place, improve individual work with ideologically immature people whose confusion must be promptly explained and who must be guided along the true path, as it were. Second, there is need for in-depth but well-argued exposition of the essence of our democracy and of the 19th all-union party conference resolutions on the reform of the political system, on the struggle against bureaucratism, on glasnost, and on interethnic relations. Specifically, sound arguments must be used to prove the political and practical inconsistency of the question of artificially implanting a multiparty system in our country.

As regards the adoption of administrative measures against extremists and provocateurs, it must be firmly said: The law will be harsh toward those who take advantage of the difficulties at the present stage of restructuring for the sake of personal ambitions, who try to undermine the foundations of socialism and the authority of party and state organs, and who preach national dissension.

Operating strictly within the framework of the law, the Moscow Gorispolkom and the law enforcement organs will not allow the capital's squares and thoroughfares to become launchpads of anarchy and total license.

It is impossible not to notice that most of the distorted views of the essence and goals of democratization, glasnost, and political reform do not flourish in production collectives. Deformations of world outlook most frequently affect young people lacking experience in life and representatives of the so-called liberal professions. This is a direct consequence of the poor standards of social science tuition in educational establishments and of the chronic underestimation of ideological and theoretical tempering as a whole by a number of scientific and cultural organizations in the city.

Party committees and propaganda workers must sharply boost the attention they give to the organization of this work among young people. Fuller use must be made today of the favorable opportunities for a truthful and honest account of the history, present, and future of the first socialist country and for Soviet young people's education in the best traditions. This is especially important in the year of the Lenin Komsomol's 70th anniversary.

The core detachment of the city's creative workers responds with deeds to the party's concern to reveal as fully as possible society's intellectual potential. But there are instances of what could be described as ideological and moral kinks, distortions in the restructuring of awareness stemming from the still poor standards of democratic culture, and elitist claims to an exclusive right to dictate subjective opinions to everybody else. All this makes it necessary to raise the standards of the study of the Marxist-Leninist heritage, dialectical methods for the cognition of reality, and topical party documents by young people and the intelligentsia. When addressing these audiences, propaganda workers must conduct a dialogue with the utmost competence and skill, altogether ruling out edification, dogmatism, and stereotype forms. What we need is comradely polemics, respect for the interlocutor, and trust, coupled with an uncompromising rebuff of ideologically alien views, religious mysticism, and lack of spirituality.

In this context it is impossible to leave aside the question of accelerating restructuring processes in social sciences. Party committees and the ideological aktiv expect (and rightly so) philosophers, historians, sociologists, economists, and psychologists to produce in-depth studies and recommendations which are honest, unbiased, and easily understood by a mass readership.

The ideological aktiv makes similar demands of current affairs writers. There can be no argument about their contribution to debunking the personality cult and the stagnation period. It is, however, impossible to carry on ad infinitum working only on "dark" and "blank" spots in the past. This starts resembling a new manifestation of political timeserving.

We need material addressing the problems of contemporary trends and the experience of restructuring. People are starved, as it were, of published material which does not confuse their minds and hearts but arouses their enthusiasm for good works which elevate man in the epoch of restructuring. An active man rather than a whiner.

Newspapers, mass circulation journals, and television make little and unsystematic mention of the noble and hard work done by party propaganda workers.

The gorkom's Propaganda Department and Organizational-Party Work Department must give some thought to the expediency of publishing some sort of "bulletin" containing the necessary statistics, summing up experience, and carrying the most important gorkom and Moscow City Soviet decisions.

The party and ideological aktiv is called upon to work in a cohesive and united front. This means in particular the need for propaganda workers' more active participation in the current report and election campaign, which is being conducted largely in a new style.

A gorkom bureau session attended by CPSU raykom first secretaries discussed the progress of the report and election campaign this week. What did the analysis show?

It can be confidently stated that the impetus given by the all-union conference has been felt by all links of the city party organization and has, to a greater or lesser degree, determined the level of openness, principledness, and businesslike efficiency at the meetings. Most of them differed positively from previous ones in terms of Communists' enhanced activeness, purposefulness of future plans, and exactingness in the election of leaders. There are far fewer meetings resembling production crisis meetings, stage productions rehearsed down to the minutest detail, or leadership monologue sessions. The direct involvement of nonparty people has introduced a lively breath of fresh air. There are reasons to believe that many report and election meetings marked the beginning of a new, more militant, and fully active life for party groups and shop and primary organizations.

But there are no reasons to flatter ourselves. Quite a few meetings were held in the old style, with the stage management and complacency typical of the past and with the expectation of instructions and changes only from above. Hence the freeloading, which takes various forms. On the one hand expectation of edicts, on the other hand criticism of superiors only. And all this is nothing but a replacement for real work, marking time, and sitting on the fence of restructuring.

It is immoral for Communists to sit on the fence, to follow in the wake of events, to blame everyone else just for the sake of justifying their own inactiveness. This attitude is often the cause of increasingly frequent withdrawal of candidacies in elections to leadership organs or the failure to elect the most active and principled comrades, who might be, as it were, unsuitable and unaccommodating.

The gorkom bureau recommended that when preparing for the remaining meetings and conferences people should not get carried away with purely procedural questions and fruitless paperwork but should give more attention to the content of work, the elaboration of specific action programs, and the enhancement of mutual exactingness for the acceleration of the pace of transformations right at labor collective level. Problems of ideological influence on the course of restructuring must be examined more thoroughly and more objectively at report and election meetings.

Today it is already clear that the contradictions and problems which have built up over the decades cannot be eliminated overnight. It is necessary for everyone to concentrate on persistent and consistent work rather than outward effect. There are no simple answers to the complex questions of revolutionary transformations, there must be no simplifications here.

The party has entrusted propaganda workers with the mighty weapon of our revolutionary teaching and our party word. This is why it is logical to demand enhanced assertiveness in propaganda and specific results from educational work.

L.N. Zaykov and Moscow CPSU Gorkom Secretaries Yu.S. Karabasov and Yu.A. Prokofyev answered numerous questions from propaganda workers concerning specific ways to implement the 19th all-union party conference decisions, the implementation of reforms, and the separation of the functions of party, soviet, and economic organs, as well as questions concerning the CPSU's social policy and the report and election campaign within the party. Important questions of the city's socioeconomic development were also raised.

The participants in the meeting stressed the great benefit from the businesslike discussion and the value of the information received by propaganda workers straight from the source, as it were. Such a collective exchange of opinions, the propaganda workers noted, helps to find correct answers to the complex questions posed by life.

Zaykov Addresses Moscow Crime Forum 14 Oct

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[Report by unnamed MOSTASS correspondent: "Strengthening Law and Order in the Capital"]

[Text] As has already been reported, on 14 October a conference of the capital's party and economic aktiv was held to discuss the progress in fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the State of the Struggle Against Crime in the Country and Additional Measures to Prevent Law Violations." Taking part in the discussion were party and soviet workers, leaders of a number of union and republican ministries and departments, and representatives of public organizations and labor collectives.

The CPSU Central Committee resolution outlined a whole package of measures making it possible not only to successfully wage the struggle against law violations, but also to perform painstaking work to eradicate the social causes of crime. Opening the conference, L.N. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, noted that this work has begun in Moscow, is being performed purposefully, and is producing its first positive results. Contacts between the law enforcement organs and the public and the labor collectives have become closer and the prosecutor's office, militia, and legal organs are collaborating more effectively. There are positive advances in preventive work.

The elaboration of the relevant section of the city's comprehensive territorial-sectorial "Progress-95" plan, which is now being completed, is a substantial step forward. For the first time it brings together and interconnects different measures of a socioeconomic and legal nature.

The section "consolidation of socialist legality and law and order" will become a kind of program for the struggle for the reliable protection of the rights and interests of the city and its inhabitants and will outline for the long term specific tasks for all those taking part in this crucial work.

At the same time work on safeguarding law and order and defending the interests of society and the rights and freedoms of the capital's citizens is in many ways marking time and in some places even retreating. The state of public order and the struggle against crime in Moscow remains so far unsatisfactory and is giving rise to serious concern among the city's inhabitants. It is essential to outline urgent, resolute, and, the main thing, effective measures to normalize law and order and to set up close collaboration in this field between party, soviet, trade union, and law enforcement organs and public organizations and labor collectives.

The reports delivered by P.S. Bogdanov, chief of the Moscow Gorispolkom Main Administration of Internal Affairs, and Moscow Prosecutor L.P. Baranov and the speeches delivered by Yu.A. Prokofyev, secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom; V.V. Vinogradov, first secretary of the Sovetskiy CPSU Raykom; T.V. Grishina, deputy chief of the Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Administration's 41st Department; I.I. Karpets, director of the USSR Prosecutor's Office All-Union Scientific Research Institute; A.Ya. Sukharev, USSR

prosecutor general; S.I. Gusev, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Court; and other participants in the conference noted that while there has been a reduction in the overall number of crimes, there has been a certain increase in the number of individual violations of the law, in particular robbery and thefts of personal property. The growth of crime among minors is particularly alarming.

New problems are being added to the old unresolved problems: the antisocial behavior of rockers, of some "informal groups," and of some cooperative members, who view the cooperative movement as a source of illegal income.

The situation in the city is taking shape in a complex manner. On the one hand, more favorable socioeconomic conditions have been created in the capital than for the country as a whole. On the other, negative factors which are in general inherent in major cities are appearing here: the migration of the population, several million newcomers, a large number of broken families, and the unresolved nature of a number of socioeconomic problems.

Proceeding from the multifaceted nature of the problems, the conservation of law and order should first of all be considered in the most painstaking manner and comprehensively organized, subordinated to specific tasks, provided with the necessary resources, and structured in such a way that party, soviet, and law enforcement organs, public organizations, and all Muscovites contribute as much as they can to it.

The CPSU Central Committee resolution notes that many party, state, and public organizations, reassuring themselves with the general positive advances in the struggle against crime, have slackened their attention toward educational and preventive work in labor collectives and at citizens' places of residence. This assessment also fully applies to our city.

Serious shortcomings continue to occur in the work to ensure the safekeeping of socialist property. Study shows that some economic leaders and party, soviet, and public organizations have a formal approach toward questions of improving the safekeeping of the people's property, have tolerated existing shortcomings in the matter, and are failing to wage a resolute struggle against embezzlers, bribe takers, and violators of state and financial discipline.

As a result losses and damages from theft, exaggerated reports, waste, and thriftlessness continue to grow. Last year they totaled over R24 million, while only 15 percent is reimbursed at the culprits' expense.

At the same time, where emphasis is placed on preventive work, on treating "social sores," even before surgical intervention is required, at eliminating the roots, the sources of crimes—in these cases definite positive results are successfully achieved.

Alcoholism and drunkenness remain a favorable ground for law violations. In the majority of cases it is these which contribute to the perpetration of crimes. That is why it is essential resolutely to break the slackening which has appeared in the struggle against this ugly phenomenon. No quarter should be given to those who continue to drink at work and who drag drunkenness into daily life. And this must be done without replacing the active struggle against alcoholism with bans. Daily, painstaking work by the party, soviet, and economic organs and labor collectives is needed for the eradication of drunkenness from our life and the eradication of relapses of this social illness from people's consciousness. Only then will we succeed in eliminating this grave factor which gives rise to law violations.

Much is said about the priority of preventive work, about how it is the main avenue in the struggle against crime and in all work to safeguard law and order. Unfortunately, the vigor of words is not always backed up by the vigor of specific deeds here.

Moreover, if we turn to the recent past, we can see that some positions and scaled heights have been surrendered to the sound of noisy talk about the importance and role of preventive work. The coordination councils for the prevention of law violations attached to the CPSU raykoms have stopped work in the majority of rayons. The activity of the public law and order conservation centers has been left to look after itself. The practice of the comprehensive planning of the prevention of law violations as a component of the planning of socioeconomic development has come to nothing. There are other losses, many of which have not been made good to this day.

It is essential to do everything to move to the real assertion of preventive work as the priority avenue of the struggle against law violations and of all work to safeguard law and order, and to achieve a fundamental breakthrough in the elimination of the reasons and conditions generating crime, especially in the sphere of production and daily life and among young people and adolescents. The decisions of the 19th party conference point us directly toward the intensification of the prevention of law violations.

Quite a long time has elapsed since the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum, when the party set the law enforcement organs cadres the priority task of persistently learning to work under the conditions of the expansion of democracy and glasnost on the basis of the support of all the people. In any event, it is time to give at least a preliminary assessment of how the task is being fulfilled. So far, the speakers noted, there is nothing

particular to report. The processes of democratization and glasnost have caught many law enforcement organ workers unawares and the restructuring of their work in conformity with qualitatively new conditions is proceeding slowly and insufficiently broadly.

The state of law and order and the effectiveness of the struggle against violations of legality are largely determined by the potential of the law enforcement organs' cadres corps and depend on who stands guard over the law and uses it for the benefit of safeguarding the interests of society and citizens' rights and freedoms. The importance of work with militia cadres was also stressed at the 19th party conference. In this connection many participants in the conference leveled the most serious complaints against the leadership of the Moscow Gorispolkom Main Administration of Internal Affairs. It was noted that it is essential to restore the prestige of the internal affairs organs staffers and to resolutely get rid of workers who discredit this lofty title.

Many rebukes were addressed to the staffers of the prosecutor's office organs who are failing to ensure control over the uniform interpretation and application of the laws and who have not yet become the coordinators of the struggle against crime.

Serious attention was drawn to the need to step up work with members of "informal" associations. The activity of many of them is dominated by constructive, socially significant interests, but some "informal organizations" stand on unstable or even overtly nonsocialist positions. A great deal of educational and preventive work must be performed among the "informal organizations" with a view to directing their energy toward resolving topical political and socioeconomic problems assisting the fundamental renewal of society.

Nor can we fail to be worried by the fact that in the past 2 years the capital's people's militia have lost much of their positive experience. It is finally time to shift from general talk to specific deeds. And the first thing that is necessary is to investigate the real state of the work of the voluntary people's militia in recent years, to give a critical and principled assessment of existing shortcomings, and to animate the work of the voluntary people's militia teams in the struggle against law violations.

L.N. Zaykov delivered a concluding speech at the conference. Today's talk, he said, was extremely necessary. Muscovites have the right to demand from us more vigorous joint actions and results in consolidating socialist legality, discipline, and order at all levels. And for that it is necessary to fundamentally revise each person's attitude to the matter in hand.

The state of affairs in Moscow affects not only our city services but also those central organs, ministries, and institutions which are on Moscow's territory. Practical activity is required of them to strengthen socialist legality in Moscow.

Among a number of priorities in work to reinforce law and order we should single out the main one—fundamentally increasing the effectiveness of preventive activity. The role of the party raykoms, rayispolkoms, and public organizations should be a hundred times weightier in this matter. We will not introduce order through the efforts of the law enforcement organs alone, especially in the labor collectives.

The second necessary condition is a qualitatively new attitude toward work with cadres. At almost all the report and election meetings now taking place in the law enforcement organs, Communists are speaking of the low professional standard of staffers and gross blunders in training.

This is not the first year we have had to speak of the feeble collaboration in the activity of the organs of the prosecutor's office, the people's courts, internal affairs, and the KGB administration. It is time the leaders and secretaries of these party organizations shifted from talking to improving the coordination of their actions. The broad public must be involved more actively and new forms of work with the population in the struggle against crime and law violations should be sought.

The tasks to strengthen legality and law and order in the city must be fulfilled in strict accordance with the requirements of the 19th all-union party conference on the legal reform and the legal backup for restructuring. All law enforcement activity must be strictly measured against the new conditions of economic management and the humanization and democratization of public life. While ensuring legal protection for the individual, it is at the same time essential to seek an increase in the responsibility of each citizen to his own labor collective and to the state and society as a whole. This is the dual task of the law enforcement organs, which they must fulfill by relying on the party and soviet organizations and the broad public.

Batalin Presents Council of Ministers Awards

PM2510095388 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Oct 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Presentation of Awards"]

[Excerpts] A large group of designers, builders, and architects—winners of the 1988 USSR Council of Ministers Prize for the elaboration and implementation of the most outstanding projects in the sphere of construction—were presented with diplomas and badges in the Kremlin's Sverdlovskiy Hall 22 October. [passage omitted]

Yu.P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, presenting the awards, warmly congratulated the prizewinners.

Moscow Official Cites 'Acute' Housing Problem

LD2410135788 Moscow TASS in English 1329 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 24 TASS—A total of 880,000 Muscovites need better housing today. The solution of this problem calls for 280,000 new flats, a TASS correspondent was told at the Moscow Bureau for the Registration and Distribution of Housing. The size of a queue at the office of the bureau's head showed how acute the housing problem in Moscow is. Most of those people have to wait for six or eight years on applications in order to get a state-owned flat free of charge.

"Of course, nobody in Moscow lives in the street in cardboard boxes. According to statistics, each Muscovite is entitled to nine square metres of housing," Eduard Yakushenko, the bureau's first deputy head, said. "However, things are sometimes very different in reality: About one-fifth of Moscow families have shared accomodation. Ten percent of Moscow's living space exists in old houses without hot water and central heating.

"Noticeable changes have taken place in housing construction in Moscow after the CPSU Central Committee passed a resolution on the guidelines for stepping up the solution of the housing problem in the Soviet Union, in April of 1986," Eduard Yakushenko went on to say. "50,000 new flats are built here annually in accordance with the Moscow-adopted programme for the provision of each Soviet family with a flat of its own by 2000. Incidentally, the rent remains unchanged."

Soviet rents continue to be one of the lowest in the world.

"Today, it is impossible to resolve the housing problem only through building new housing. We are planning to get half of the increase through reconstruction, modernization and overhaul repair of old houses. It is also necessary to encourage flat changes among Muscovites when they lead to a more rational re-distribution of housing, depending on the size of a family."

More and more Muscovites see the solution of their housing problem in building flats at their own expense. About 17 percent of houses in Moscow are being built by housing construction cooperatives.

The Moscow City Council (soviet) is discussing the possibility of selling state-owned flats as a personal property to the city residents.

Eduard Yakushenko is sure that the current measures will make it possible to provide each Moscow family with a flat of its own in 12 years.

Oblast Leaders' Education Shortcomings Cited

PM2610110188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Oct 88 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee; on the Unsatisfactory Fulfillment by some leaders of Arkhangelsk Oblast Party, Soviet, and Trade Union Organs of the Party and Government Decisions on Creating the Necessary Conditions for the Creative Work, Daily Life, and Leisure of Workers in the National Education Sphere"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee has checked the fulfillment by the Arkhangelsk Oblast organizations' Communist leaders of party and government decisions on creating the necessary conditions for the work, daily life, and leisure of national education workers. The decision adopted on this question notes that individual workers in the oblast's party, soviet, and trade union organs have failed to draw the necessary conclusions from the instructions of the 27th party congress and the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum on the implementation of the reform of national education, the enhancement of the role and prestige of teachers in restructuring the higher and secondary school, and the creation of the necessary conditions for their creative work, daily life, and leisure.

Many of the leaders of the oblast and rayon echelon continue to treat the school's problems without proper attention and have failed to overcome the approach based on the view that only the residual balance should go to satisfy the needs of education. They seldom visit educational establishments and allow bureaucracy in resolving urgent questions.

As a result the material and technical base is in a neglected state in a considerable proportion of schools, colleges, technical colleges, and institutes. One-third of the buildings are in need of capital repair and 70 percent of the schools and every fifth vocational and technical college have no sewage, water pipelines, or other supply lines. A number of higher and secondary educational establishments are situated in dangerous or makeshift premises. Capital investments earmarked for the construction of schools, vocational and technical colleges, and children's preschool institutions were only 88.3 percent assimilated in 1986-1987.

Social questions are being unsatisfactorily resolved in schools, colleges, and VUZ's. The number of national education workers registered for receiving housing is constantly growing. About 500 teachers are living in rented premises, private apartments, and hostels. Many houses for teachers are maintained in an unsatisfactory state. In a number of rayons checking has revealed instances of the gross violation of party and government resolutions on benefits for teachers for municipal services and food supplies, which is giving rise to numerous complaints and leading to a large cadres turnover. In

Onezhskiy, Nayandomskiy, and Konoshskiy Rayons and in Arkhangelsk cadres turnover is three times the average level for the oblast. In the 1987-1988 academic year the schools were over 200 teachers short.

A considerable number of local soviets are failing to act as organizers of work to restructure the schools and have failed to achieve the point where national education, as the CPSU Central Committee plenum stressed, becomes the priority avenue of their activity.

The oblispolkom (the chairman is V.M. Tretyakov) is failing to display strict exactingness with regard to the gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms, national education departments, and vocational and technical education administration for the restructuring of school affairs, and is exercising only feeble control over the decisions which have been made on questions of the construction and repair of educational establishments and the provision of material and technical supplies for them. As a result of the lack of discipline allowed by the oblispolkom workers, teachers in rural areas have in fact not been provided with the benefits stipulated by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers 12 April 1984 resolution.

The obkom of the trade union of education, higher schools, and scientific institutions workers (the chairman is V.A. Manushkin) is failing to display proper persistence in creating the necessary conditions for teachers' work, daily life, and leisure. The sickness rate among teachers is increasing in the oblast, the requirements of those in need of sanatorium treatment are not being satisfied, and problems of family leisure have not been resolved.

Many of the oblast's party committees and primary party organizations are allowing grave shortcomings in work to implement party and government decisions on improving housing, sociocultural, and consumer services for teachers. The decisions they make on national education questions are not backed up by organizational work, the verification of execution remains unfulfilled for the majority of items, and no demands are made on those to blame for this situation. The necessary steps are not taken to reinforce educational establishments' primary party organizations.

The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee drew the attention of V.I. Bokhovkin, secretary of the Arkhangelsk CPSU Obkom, to the party committees' poor organizational and political work in implementing the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum and the lack of control and failure to take steps with regard to Communist leaders for shortcomings committed in creating the necessary working, daily living, and leisure conditions for teachers.

CPSU member V.M. Tretyakov, chairman of the Arkhangelsk Oblispolkom, was reprimanded for serious shortcomings in work to create the necessary conditions for the work, daily life, and leisure of national education workers and slack control over the activity of the local soviet ispolkoms and national education organs in fulfilling party and government resolutions on providing benefits for teachers.

CPSU member V.A. Manushkin, chairman of the Arkhangelsk Obkom of the trade union of education, higher schools, and scientific institutions workers, was cautioned for the low standard of organizational work and the lack of proper control over the practical solution of questions of improving the working, daily living, and leisure conditions of national education workers.

The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee took into account the assurances of V.I. Bokhovkin, V.M. Tretyakov, and V.A. Manushkin that they would draw the necessary conclusions from the discussion of the question; take steps to eliminate the shortcomings revealed by the check; increase the exactingness toward leading cadres of all levels for the implementation of the reform of the educational system and the improvement of socioconsumer conditions for its workers; and take effective steps to train teacher cadres and retain them, to democratize the life of educational establishments, and to step up the role of school, college, and VUZ primary party and trade union organizations.

The attention of I.M. Kosonozhkin, RSFSR first deputy minister of national education, and V.M. Berezin, secretary of the Central Committee of the trade union of education, higher schools, and scientific institutions workers, was drawn to the inadequate control they are exercising over the fulfillment of party and government resolutions on the creation of the necessary conditions for the creative work, daily life, and leisure of national education workers. Account was taken of their statement that the ministry and the trade union Central Committee will render practical assistance in improving the working and socioconsumer conditions of education workers in Arkhangelsk Oblast.

Readers Discuss Role of Party, Nonparty Leaders

PM2610160788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Mailbag department special correspondent Lyudmila Saveleva review of readers' letters on the role of the party under the rubric "Reading Your Letters": "Nonparty People on the Party"]

[Text] The topic of this review has, as always, been prompted by the readers themselves: There are many letters in the editorial mailbag whose writers, stressing that they are not party members, are intent on discussing the party. Their comments, it must be noted, are sincere, frequently bitter, but impartial, meaningful, and very useful. And even the need to engage in such a discussion is, in my opinion, a sign of the new times. Some 3 years ago it would have hardly been possible to expect widespread interest in this topic.

So what is causing concern? Everything from the prestige of the party as a whole to the prestige of rank-and-file Communists ("many are completely passive, so how do they differ from nonparty people?"), everything from the reform of the political system to specific forms of creating real people's power and a genuinely democratic state, everything from the responsiblity of the party for the past to the responsibility of the whole people for the future. Noting that the honest and courageous analysis of the mistakes of the past has "only served to strengthen the pretty shaky prestige of the party, which has in this way demonstrated its readiness to be truthful," G. Kovtunova (Chernigov city) asks: "But are there many changes at local level? Alas, there are very few."

As if to rebut this statement, G. Katkov (Nizhniy Tagil) writes: "When I hear people say that there are no visible changes, I want to say to them: 'Just look at yourself.' After all, we have not even noticed how we ourselves have changed over this relatively short period: We have more self-respect and more respect for other people, we have more confidence in our strength and just plain dignity, and, most importantly, there is optimism. Many people have started thinking, probably for the first time in many years, about most serious questions: Who are we, what are we like, how should we live in the future?"

Many people believe that a true sign of restructuring is the awakening of public thought from "hibernation, fear, and indolence," and the unfeigned mass interest in state and political issues ("we are talking politics until we are blue in the face, arguing, and even cursing," K. Shakhov, Krasnoyarsk), but "how can we, ordinary citizens, move on from conversations and discussions on the sidelines to direct participation in state affairs? How can we really influence the course of events?" (V. Pavlova, Sverdlovsk).

As is well known, there are 150 million nonparty people among the working population alone. The reasons why they are not party members vary. Some did not join the party deliberately. Others, sharing the ideas of the party which was created by the bolsheviks, the truly Leninist party, were ready to fight for these ideas but their path into the party was barred by artificial limits and percentages. The mechanism of admission into the party itself was, in the opinion of readers, completely regimented and bureaucratic. And finally, the atmosphere of the period of stagnation in itself acted as an internal brake: Seeing an ever increasing gulf forming between words and actions, honest, principled people understood that they were not likely to fit in.

Has anything changed now? According to the opinion of the majority of readers, there are undeniable changes. They consist above all in the fact that a war has been declared on deviations from the Leninist norms of party life. A war has been declared, but that does not mean that victory over the negative phenomena which took root in our society over many years will be easily won. The readers' analysis of these phenomena is filled with pain, as well as bitterness and concern. But if there is one thing it does not contain, it is spite. Here are a few typical letters:

"Luxurious buildings—both administrative and residential, a special life characterized by elitism and privileges and at the same time by complete isolation from the people, despite continuous assurances that 'the people and the party are one'—what a dramatic blow had been dealt to the prestige of the party," Muscovite G. Bogdanovich writes. "However, we, who they arrogantly referred to as 'the people,' understood that that was not the party, it was the party apparatus intoxicated with unchecked power which was trying to supplant the party. The abuses and the personal greed of individual leaders must not be confused with the party as such." "The composition and the quality of the party are the concern not only of the party itself but of the whole people," A. Klochkov (Sverdlovsk) believes. "This is above all because there are people in the party who do not belong there. There are around 20 million party members, but how many are real Communists? How many are like those people who after the revolution took a bread train to starving Moscow while fainting with hunger themselves?" "The greater and lesser cults were not the handiwork of the party, but rather of the intraparty system with its authoritarianism which replaced discipline with blind, unthinking subservience and regarded an independent opinion as sedition" (S. Skorodko, Ashkhabad).

Welcoming the abolition of all kind of privileges enjoyed by party workers, many readers stress that another "privilege," probably the most important one, persists. It is the "tacit but nonetheless imperative demand that all leaders must be party members. A general viewpoint on this issue is expressed by V. Shirochenko (Yaroslavl): "If you are not a party member you can write off your career (in the correct meaning of this word). People may say: That is what happened in the past. And now? It is just the same. Despite the repeated instructions from the Central Committee (you only have to recall the January plenum at which it was expressly stated: It is necessary to be bolder in nominating nonparty people to leading jobs), even now when you apply for a job, people look first at what you put under "party affiliation" on your questionnaire. Who will put an end to this practice?"

Well, whose job is it anyway to put an end to this practice? As if in reply to this question of concern to many people, O. Sazonov (Yalchikskiy Rayon, Chuvash ASSR) writes: "An important event has happened on our 'Mir' Kolkhoz. We kolkhoz members have managed to get our candidate N. Osipov elected as chairman. It is not just that we have managed to get our candidate elected; he is, moreover, a nonparty person. We simply insisted that the main thing is suitability for the job and not party membership."

Nonetheless, such examples are rare, both in the mailbag and in real life. Because the "bureaucratic approach to people which is based on questionnaires" (V. Deomidov, Trubchevsk) still prevails, and our efforts to make use of the opportunities offered today by democracy are "still clumsy and weak, it is as if we were afraid to believe that we ourselves can influence life" (V. Krupkov, Gorkiy).

The thoughts of many readers can be expressed very simply: Party membership must carry no privileges either as regards the career ladder or in any other respects. This will only serve to strengthen the prestige of the party. There will be far fewer superfluous people in the party and many more real Communists. "The party is a voluntary alliance of like-minded people," V. Ushakov (Sverdlovsk) writes. "It is an alliance of people who are united through serving one idea. And wherever ideology is supported by means of additional benefits, no matter what these benefits are, there will always be a large number of people who will want to avail themselves of these benefits. For the sake of these benefits they are even prepared to pose as champions of an idea." It is common knowledge that all this actually happened in the recent past. There are more than enough examples. A general, insistent, and categorical demand is that this must stop. But here is a point to which many people are drawing attention. The party is going through a difficult, crucial period. Many people note that the "top echelons" and the "grassroots" are drawing closer toward each other, but they are separated by the still powerful party apparatus with its old methods, old views, and the old habit of making decisions behind closed doors. "The work of every leader, and especially a Communist leader," V. Kushakov (Kansk) writes, "must proceed from real people and their jobs. How often do we get to see obkom or raykom secretaries, what do we know about their work, and what do they know about us?" "Stalinism (when everyone was afraid of everyone else) and the decades of stagnation (when no one was afraid of anything or anybody) are essentially one and the same thing—the triumph of an authoritarian system where the opinion of one person is presented as the unanimous opinion of all. The course set by the party toward democracy and glasnost is a guarantee that the old mistakes will not be repeated" (A. Zhikhoruk, Murmansk).

"It is extremely important," S. Bondar (Kiev) believes, "to strengthen in our society and above all in the party the atmosphere of unfettered thought and plurality of views. Competence, ability to organize, principledness, and honesty—these are the criteria that must be applied to cadres, criteria which are being dictated by the times themselves." As if developing this thought, R. Solodovnikov (Moscow) writes: "I travel a lot around the country. There are many thinking, clever, committed people in our country, if only they were given scope. Many people are complaining about the excessive power that is wielded by local organs. It is not as if they were invariably staffed by bad people; there are people of all kinds, of course."

Pinning great hopes on the upcoming reform of the political system and the report-and-election campaign which is under way in the party, and expressing support for the measures to effect a radical renewal of all spheres of our society, readers directly raise the question of the active role of nonparty people in restructuring. The following idea expressed by V. Bondarenko (Gomel Oblast) probably sums up most succinctly the views of many people: "No honest person can remain indifferent to what is happening today. We have arrived at restructuring through our own suffering and we will not entrust its fate to functionaries 'who claim to have restructured themselves.' The main thing is not to waste any time, either as regards the reform of the political system or the deepening and strengthening of democracy in all spheres of life. We must not waste time or expect miracles, hoping that someone will work it all out for us and do our work. No one will do that. Have we understood this?"

Have we really understood it?

Battle Against 'Scum' of Organized Crime Cited

PM2110093188 Moscow TRUD in Russian
12 Oct 88 p 4

[V. Belykh article under the rubric "Reporter Investigates": "Scum"]

[Text] That day's session in the people's courtroom in Moscow's Kuntsevskiy Rayon was unexpectedly suspended. One of the experts had not had time to finish his testimony when the men sitting in the dock obeyed a sudden guttural command and attacked their escort.

The desperate attempt to seize the guard's weapons failed. And after a brief skirmish the criminals, now in handcuffs, were sent to the investigatory isolation cell.

Gela Adeishvili's criminal group left a long and bloody trail behind it—murders, robberies, bandit attacks, swindles—more than 30 crimes in Moscow, Adler, Kursk, Voronezh, Podolsk.... And then the long-awaited trial, which, let us note, did not diminish the arrestees' brazenness and self-assurance. One of them hissed these parting words at a Moscow Criminal Investigation Department staffer: "Don't be in a hurry to rejoice, we will soon get you...." And it was no empty threat....

Almost all those accused hailed from Samtredia, Vani, and Poti. From there touring gangs organized by one of the local "thieves within the law"—Nikolay Khuchua, alias Bichiko Chorna (who today is in custody)—set out one after another to "shake up" various cities. And, feeling themselves a component of some cruel mechanism, the members of Adeishvili's gang counted on assistance and vengeance when they got into a critical situation....

Candidate of Juridical Sciences S. Lebedev, staffer of the USSR MVD Academy, speaks:

"As is known, the difficulties caused by stagnation began increasing rapidly in the early seventies. A serious shortage of consumer goods and services was arising, the population's lack of legal protection had increased, value guidelines were being displaced, and corruption was spreading. Under these conditions the so-called 'shadow economy' was developing, parasitizing on errors in the social sphere. A 'clan' of underground entrepreneurs emerged, gradually concentrating considerable sums in their hands. The 'thieves within the law' demanded their own share of their profits. The slick operators in turn began hastily forming 'self-defense detachments.' Bloody internecine clashes arose in the criminal world, which, however, were quickly resolved. The 'union' was concluded in the midseventies. Part of the underground businessmen's income flowed into thieves' cash boxes—the 'kitties' [obshchaki]—and the 'kitties' themselves were put into circulation by the shady entrepreneurs. In that situation, however, the criminal world was becoming totally dependent on big 'slick operators,' while the 'thieves within the law' were being brought down to the level of 'bodyguard chiefs.' But then another swing of the pendulum, and by the early eighties a type of crime leader was taking shape who controlled both the underground economy and criminal activity, while at the same time formally participating in nothing."

The complexity of the situation was also exacerbated by the fact that the leaders of newborn organized crime were gradually merging with certain representatives of the official leadership locally....

One of the inspirers of the "Soviet mafia" was A. Cherkasov, a pickpocket in his youth. Precisely he was in on the birth of a large-scale racket. Cherkasov concentrated considerable power in his hands. And even during enforced time-outs (very comfortable ones by camp yardsticks) the "mafioso" did not stop leading the criminal world...

It was Cherkasov who once fostered Mongol's bloody group of racketeers. After the rout and trial the "godfather" remained to one side, and a new criminal formation arose from the gang's remains under Yaponchik (S. Ivanko) and his helper Balda (V. Bykov). Cherkasov's wards worked with rare cruelty. They would "shake up" shop members [tsekhoviki], speculators, drug pushers.... They would drive some people out to the forest and there start refined torture, and toward the end they even fitted out a special "chamber" in a basement in Moscow's Krasnopresnenskiy Rayon, where they would "persuade" their victims more quickly to share their "earnings." Toward the end Yaponchik had completely ceased to fear anyone. They "dissected" a rival grouping in the "Russ" Restaurant outside the city. Weapons were used. Shots thundered out, knives flashed, and crockery was smashed to smithereens. Frightened foreigners rushed into the street yelling "Mafia" (it was then clearly explained to them that we have and can have no such thing). As a result, just a few rank-and-file bandits were sentenced to insignificant terms. In the end Yaponchik was caught all the same and sent into exile, where he remains to this day....

"The jerk," Cherkasov said of his favorite. "I taught him, I did, but he went too far...."

The end of the "godfather" himself also proved far from "heroic," as is the way. In his old age he got a passion for private rooms with young girls (in a small bathhouse not far from the Taganka) and with video films of a certain kind. In the end he was caught there and sentenced under the article covering pornography—a "shameful" article for a "thief within the law." He was released after a while, but a few months later his health failed, and he died recently....

Of course, Cherkasov was not alone at the birth of this kind of crime. Even today various "clans" are fiercely contesting the leadership with each other. And it is not a bloodless confrontation.

On that day cars carrying strong young men quietly approached the "Uzbekistan" Restaurant. Hidden under clothes and car seats were chains, knives, sharpened reinforcing bars, sawed-off shotguns, pistols.... Another "dissection" was being prepared between two enemy groupings for spheres of influence. The dispute was over who was to "possess" the capital's Southern Port—the place where cars are resold. But the fight did not take place this time. Thanks to the efficient actions of militia details and special subunits, bloodshed was prevented and approximately 40 fighters were arrested....

Unfortunately, other recent "dissections" had a somewhat different ending—outside the "Akademicheskaya" subway station, where downtown Moscow, prostitutes, and the Rizhskiy Market were being "divided up," and outside the "Belgrad" Hotel, where the dispute was over who was to control the "thimbleriggers...."

Everyone is drawn, like animals, to a tasty morsel, but if one more "thief within the law" lays down his life for it, a first-rate funeral is organized for him. And not without reason. Here, at the grave of one more casualty of the struggle for power over the criminal world, "dissections" are completed, deals are concluded, acquaintances and unions take place, and—it must be owned—such a solemn burial is a definite means of influencing surrounding people....

...Water has long been one of the most important assets in Armenia. There is always too little of it, never enough. And this is evidently why it has become the tradition in the local criminal world to erect drinking fountains of black marble before the houses of the most esteemed "thieves within the law" after their death. And, whatever interruptions in the water supply, these fountains usually work efficiently. If a traveler comes by, he slakes his thirst. To whom should he say thank you? Here is the

name, engraved on the marble slab: Shurik, Zhorik.... A name which, according to the concepts of the criminal world, must be as "eternal" as the motion of water. It has to be remarked that this "propaganda" of the criminal world yields fruit somewhere.

"A grave situation took shape in Georgia in 1982, for example," S. Lebedev said. "Even in Tbilisi a section of young people, mainly minors, was affected by the cult of worshiping the criminal world. And we repeatedly noticed that in certain places in the Transcaucasus, Central Asia, and the RSFSR the population not only knew 'thieves within the law' living nearby but also turned to them quite frequently for assistance in resolving questions connected with disputes between neighbors, and with undeserved insults when the militia and local organs were powerless or in no hurry to help. And the 'godfathers' quite frequently agreed. Not for free, of course, but not for money either. For 'authority,' for tacit aiding and abetting, mutual covering up, support in difficult situations...."

In short, organized crime has today become a very sinister force, and its connections are sometimes detected in the most unexpected places.

Some time ago I made the acquaintance of Candidate of Medical Sciences Robert Shalvovich Khuntua, chief physician of the No 47 Medical and Sanitary Unit and, since March of this year, also of Moscow's No 31 Hospital, which is united with it. I went there to inquire about the last period in the life of V. Kuchuloriya, a recent leader of organized crime known to TRUD's readers from the articles "'Godfather's' Funeral" and "Blasphemy." It turned out that on 24 June this year Khuntua personally telephoned the admission department's controller and ordered the hospitalization of a "mafioso" patient, who was to be brought in by ambulance. The chief physician also issued similar instructions to the admission department's therapeutist.

The recidivist spent his last days in the comfort to which he was accustomed. He lay alone in a ward equipped with the most modern medical apparatus, which, incidentally, disappeared mysteriously after his death. A watch was kept over Kuchuloriya day and night by guards who had the keys to the emergency exit and...to the red corner, where the "godfather" held his "conferences," where guests would sometimes spend the night, and where some festivity was once celebrated in splendid style. To outsiders and the hospital's service personnel the ailing "mafioso" was passed off as...a well-known novelist. Was Chief Physician Khuntua himself deluded as to his patient's true profession? Evidently, we will soon learn the answer.

But whereas Kuchuloriya passed himself off as a writer, one of Anatoliy Cherkasov's cronies arranged this title for himself quite officially. Amiran Kvantrishvili even made mistakes when signing his name, but that did not stop him becoming a member of the Writers Union. The mechanics of the pushy slick operator's creative path were simple. It was suggested that a promising young playwright add a second signature to his play—that of A. Kvantrishvili. Then the latter-day "litterateur" used his extensive connections and set about "pushing" the work into print and for staging in the theater. Not for free. On the basis of a share of the royalties as coauthor. The "talented playwright" would have been so successful, and who knows what heights he would have attained if he had not been investigated on a charge of extortion. It is true that after all his arts criminal proceedings were never instituted against him. But he was, all the same, expelled from the Writers Union.

It is ridiculous and very strange to learn that honored people, art workers, sometimes plead for inveterate scoundrels. That when people tried to institute proceedings for parasitism against a middling gangster nicknamed Tayvanchik, a well-known singer rushed to his assistance and a no less popular female singer was not embarrassed to receive expensive gifts from the same "mafioso." Probably such well-wishers are not fully aware whom they are defending, but they ought not to be quite so naive....

It is true that, in order to carry out its affairs and successfully evade liability, organized crime has means that are even stronger than the protection of people with well-known names. Possessing considerable sums of money and strong connections, "mafiosi" frequently "mess up" what seem to be the safest criminal cases by bribing or frightening witnesses, removing unwelcome people, falsifying facts....

Near the "Uzbekistan" Restaurant in Moscow, for example, criminal investigation department staffers arrested N. Artyushin, who had a previous conviction, and V. Shcherbakov, a particularly dangerous and mentally ill recidivist of no fixed abode and no definite type of employment. A sawed-off small-bore rifle, a dummy PM pistol, live cartridges, three wigs, three pairs of gloves, a glass cutter, hashish, and two Japanese-made radio sets were confiscated from the friends. They clearly were not going to a children's fancy dress party or for a stroll with such equipment. But, strange though it may seem, criminal proceedings were not instituted against the arrestees even for [possession of] firearms.

Let us focus attention on the Japanese portable radio sets. Bandits of every stripe acquired them long ago—light, reliable, and superior to the bulky, capricious militia sets. And organized crime is not unfamiliar with other innovations of technical thought—bugging devices, radiotelephones, computers, videotaping, chemical preparations, firearms....

With what can the militia counter them today? Frequently, completely worn-out little Zhigulis [car make] and Uaziks with a drastic limit on gasoline, Makarov pistols.... So far we have been obliged for our first successes in the fight against organized crime chiefly to

the courage, resourcefulness, and selflessness of criminal investigation and inquiry department staffers. But enthusiasm not backed up by full-value technical facilities enabling us to fight the "godfathers" successfully is plainly inadequate consolation. And we obviously must not rely on this alone now. [Belykh article ends]

We asked B. Dziov, deputy chief of the USSR MVD Criminal Investigation Main Administration, to comment on our material.

"Questions connected with manifestations of organized crime are not new to us, for we raised them back in the seventies. But special subdivisions to fight this dangerous phenomenon were created only in 1985. Today our system includes 16 such divisions, 6 departments, and more than 20 groups under union and autonomous republic MVD's and oblast internal affairs main administrations. They are organized primarily in places with the most complex operational situation. The question of assigning these subdivisions to an independent service of central subordination is now being examined.

"Good work on controlling the criminal 'authorities' has recently been organized in the Georgian MVD.

"Naturally, we cannot fight organized crime on our own. The Criminal Investigation Department and the Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation are given active assistance here by the investigative apparatus, the State Automobile Inspectorate, the public order maintenance service, the prosecutor's office.... We are also given good assistance by the press, which raises urgent problems, shapes public opinion, and draws attention to those things to which we have, perhaps, become too accustomed.

"The recent changes in the economic structure of society must also have a favorable effect on the fight against organized crime, for this phenomenon is directly linked with the 'shadow economy.'

"A detailed definition of organized crime must be provided in our new legislation. The methods and forms of the struggle against it must be improved. A scientific conference on this question was held at the USSR MVD Scientific Research Institute at the beginning of this year.

"Nevertheless, very, very many questions still remain. Our equipment needs improving. The cadre situation is complex. More than 50 percent of our operational workers have now served less than 5 years, and just 12 percent are left with more than 10 years' service. Great attention has to be devoted to the training and retraining of specialists. But, despite the difficulties we are experiencing, everything possible will be done to successfully fight organized crime."

'Opposition' Stalls Lease Contracting Plans

LD2410160988 [Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0435 GMT on 24 October carries the "Signal" program. The 15-minute program deals with opposition to lease contracting in the countryside.

The program presenter reads letters from listeners who are afraid that lease contracting will lead to capitalism, while others complain that the Soviet principle of equal incomes is being violated, since lease contractors are earning more than cadre workers, doctors, and teachers. The presenter further notes that the new forms of management are "held in an iron vice by the opposition of bureaucrats, by tough administrative methods of leadership, by lack of understanding, and sometimes by the hostility of fellow villagers."

Correspondent Madril Garfurov reports on vandalism perpetrated against contract collectives on a farm in Bashkiriya. At the height of the field work, he notes, approximately 50 tires were slashed with an axe, and all the machines were smashed. The militia's investigation into the situation has not yielded any results, he says.

In another incident, along the Ufa-Chelyabinsk highway, contract workers started to build themselves a cafeteria and hostel in the fields on the (Alartovskiy) Sovkhoz grounds, the presenter says. However, the cafeteria was flattened by a tractor on the orders of the farm's director, he adds. Since the workers had permission from the executive committee to build the cafeteria, they sought an explanation from the farm's director, who is a Communist. The presenter notes that he merely told them: "The executive committee is not law to me. I am the boss here; I will make the decisions." The program ends with an appeal for understanding and support from the local soviets and party leaders and management for the lease contractors. The presenter notes that a Tula Sovkhoz chairman set up the first contractors' cooperative in spite of initial opposition. Lease contracting, with 0.8 hectares of plowland per person, can ensure that sufficient food is provided to feed the country, the presenter concludes.

Problems Between Komsomol, 'Non-Formal' Groups

LD1510170988 Moscow TASS in English 1526 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 14 TASS—The weekly NEW TIMES today reflects on problems emerging in relations between the Soviet Young Communists League (YCL or Komsomol) and non-formal youth organisations.

The appearance of non-formal association is the logical development of the democratic principles of socialist society, the weekly writes. Youth has been stirred up, the young people's conduct is politicized and this is an

encouraging feature of perestroyka (drive for restructuring). The members of non-formal organisations do not oppose themselves to the Komsomol, they are just different. This, however, does not give a pretext to consider them as "not ours".

People sometimes say that youth backed away from the Komsomol. The NEW TIMES partially shares this view, noting, however, another thing: "The Komsomol apparatus distanced itself from youth." "Gradually it became to reminisce a rider pedaling a bicycle on the treadmill: no movement, only sensor data." The fast increase in the number of non-formal organisations could become, in the weekly's opinion, a factor of consolidating the Komsomol: since when a competitor appears, willy-nilly one has to analyze one's weak points and mistakes. But the competitor drew irritation rather than the desire to take a stricter look at one's place in society.

It would seem that an impetus to renewal was given to the YCL following its 20th congress in 1987 and, hence, a breakthrough will take place in young people's attitude to the Komsomol. This has not happened, however. The process of youth uniting in non-formal organisations is picking up. This is a natural development of the present-day political process. Any suppression of it generates disappointment and apathy and sometimes even opposition to any measures to ameliorate the social atmosphere.

Television To Carry Foreign Advertisements

LD2210115388 Moscow TASS in English 1950 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 21 TASS—Soviet television starts showing industrial advertising of foreign firms. The broadcast "Progress, Information, Advertising" will have its premier tomorrow on the second channel of USSR television. The program is directed at heads of Soviet enterprises, managers and those interested in advanced technology of West European firms.

Soviet viewers received an opportunity to watch advertising of foreign firms due to an agreement concluded last spring among the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, Soviet-Hungarian joint venture Tisza and the Italian firm Publitalia'80, which is affiliated with one of the biggest advertising and publisher groups of Western Europe, Fininvest.

The program will be aired each fortnight and will last 45 minutes. The show of advertising films, rolls and clips of foreign firms will be commented upon by leading Soviet scientists and specialist. The main aim of the new program is to make Soviet business circles better informed about present-day tendencies of the development of science and technology in the world, promote the establishment of closer contacts between Soviet organisations and foreign firms.

The possibility of publicising the latest developments on Soviet television was given to firms of Austria, Belgium, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Greece, Denmark, West Germany, Spain, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Portugal, Finland, France, Switzerland and Sweden—all the countries in which the branches of Publitalia'80 function. The same opportunity was offered to foreign firms accredited in Moscow.

The joint enterprise Tisza will give assistance to participants in each show in the establishment of contacts.

The program "Progress, Information, Advertising" will be shown next on November 5.

Economic

State Quality Control Rejects Substandard Items

LD2610141388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0829 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, 26 October TASS—State acceptance, which was introduced at 1,512 Soviet enterprises 2 years ago, last year prevented consumers being offered billions of rubles worth of substandard items. Rejects of finished products at the assembly stage went down by more than 30 percent. This year the State Acceptance Service has come to another 736 enterprises, and also to construction sites.

State Acceptance is an obligatory extra-economic measure, a sort of administrative "contribution" by the state to raising the quality of output, said Vasiliy Omelyanchik, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Standards and head of state acceptance nationwide, in a conversation with journalists. Workers have reacted with understanding to state acceptance. "People have started to feel that they can earn their pay rather than get it through various devious maneuvers," he said.

State acceptance has only taken the first steps, Vasiliy Omelyanckik noted, and so all negative phenomena—which were indeed the reason for the introduction of the new form of checking—have not yet been eradicated. For example, even today irregular production means that collectives work feverishly in the last days of the month or quarter. The "productivity" of an enterprise then increases geometrically, but not to the benefit of output quality. For example, the (Ukraina) Locomotive Association in Voroshilovgrad in the last days of March presented for state acceptance 45 percent of its monthly output. Can one speak seriously about the quality of output under such conditions?

Not least in the overall list of shortcomings is the unjustifiably slow pace, and at time the failure to meet plans, in the technical reequipment of production facilities. State acceptance focuses its attention on all this, Vasiliy Omelyanchik said.

State acceptance is now coming up against many difficulties which could be divided roughly into two categories: organizational-technical and psychological. There are not enough specialists or checking equipment. "But the psychological problems are even more complex," the state acceptance boss said. "To this day state acceptance sometimes encounters resistance. We are frequently accused of being excessively demanding. A kind of 'stranglehold' is imposed at the managerial level." The situation is completely different at enterprises where from the very outset the correct approach to state acceptance was defined, where the managers direct the collective to cooperate with state acceptance, Vasiliy Omelyanckik said.

Agricultural

Ligachev, Zaykov Visit Moscow Combines

LD2610105288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2230 GMT 25 Oct 88

[Text] A solution to the food problem is one of the social priorities of restructuring. However, shops do not by any means always have enough of the products people need. For example, how many Muscovites have had to put up with no milk in the shops or complain about the poor quality of kefir or cottage cheese? It is well known that the capital's Moloko production association from year to year builds up the production volume of all these food products. However, the level of supply of them at times gives rise to the justified claims of Muscovites.

Questions of the further buildup of production volumes, raising the quality of output and improving the labor and every-day conditions of staff in the industry were examined on 24-25 October during a visit by Comrades Zaykov and Ligachev to a number of existing enterprises and others under construction belonging to the association.

They visited the Lianozovo dairy combine, the first section of which is due to be commissioned this year. In its technical standards the combine meets with the highest requirements and has up-to-date production processes. At the Moscow dairy combine in Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon the CPSU Central Committee secretaries acquainted themselves with the progressive automated technology for the processing of raw dairy produce and the manufacture of a number of other items which enter the capital's trade network. In the present 5-year-plan period it is planned to increase the volume of production more than twofold.

Acquaintance was also made with the Ostankino dairy combine and dairies at Cherkizovo and on (Novyy (Ryazan) street. In the course of conversations with workers, specialists, and heads of the industry key questions, on which the long-term results of work depend, were examined. It was stressed that the communists and labor collectives of enterprises of the agro-industrial complex are committed to adopting all measures and to utilizing all reserves in order to improve the provision of dairy products to a city with a multimillion population.

The results of the inspection of the enterprises were summed up at a meeting which took place on 25 October. The participants in it pointed out that by 1990 supplies of dairy products to the shops must be substantially increased. This task should be tackled in an integrated manner, by ensuring a growth in the procurement of raw material at kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Moscow region and their direct contact with the dairy industry. It is particularly important to raise the quality of raw material by means of a fundamental improvement in the material-technical base of the primary processing of milk at farms, and to improve the work of transport and storage of products.

It was stressed that concern for the development of all subsections of the food industry should become the day-to-day matter of local soviets and economic bodies. Party committees are faced with the task of establishing permanent effective control over this sphere of the economy, whose products are vital to the people.

Scientific

Energiya Space Shuttle Waits on Launch Pad

Launch Set for 29 Oct

LD2610142288 Moscow TASS in English 1412 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—In keeping with the schedule of preparations for a test launch of an Energia multipurpose space transportation system, final checks are being made on the on-board systems and equipment of an Energia booster and a Buran (Snowstorm) orbiter and they are being prepared for fuelling.

The Energia system is to blast off at 6:23 Moscow time on October 29.

Energiya-Buran Described

LD2710024388 Moscow TASS in English 2232 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Baykonur October 27 TASS—TASS Special Correspondent Valentin Ovcharov writes:

Slightly more than two days is left before the launching of the versatile Energiya-Buran missile-space system. The decision on its first testing launch was taken October 26 by the state commission following reports of specialists who analysed the results of several thousand testing operations. Late at night tomorrow preparations will start to fuel the booster rocket and the orbital craft.

The Energiya will be fueled with a total of almost two thousand tons of liquid oxygen, hydrogen and hydrocarbon fuel. This figure gives one the idea of the possibilities of the new heavy-class missile, first tested on May 15, 1987. The system is capable of putting over a hundred tons of payload inner-earth orbit, 18 tons on geostationary orbit, and of carrying 32 tons to the moon and up to 28 tons to Mars and Venus. And while in its first flight the system went up with a mock-up satellite, now it is to carry into the world of zero gravity the first Soviet re-usable spacecraft called Buran.

The missile-space system, whose tests open up a totally new stage in the development of Soviet cosmonautics, was taken out of the assembly and fueling shop in a horizontal position, hauled by four thermal locomotives. Then the entire "cluster" weighing several hundred tons was placed in a vertical position for launching with the utmost precision. Impressive is the size of the system which reminds one a five-dome cathedral with a height of sixty metres. The central and the four side blocs of Energiya are about 20 metres in diameter. The orbital ship is fixed to the side of the booster and reminds one of a huge white bird with black feathers. This time round it will set out on a space journey without a crew and will land automatically.

All the services of the cosmodrome, of the earthbound and sea-based tracking stations, of the flight control centre have begun the pre-launch countdown.

Nuclear Space Flight Heads in 'New Direction'

PM2610120188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
16 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS observer N. Zheleznov report: "Reactors in Space. Scientists on a New Direction in 21st-Century Power Engineering"]

[Text] As reported in the press, on 1 October this year the final crucial stage of the flight of the Cosmos-1900 satellite equipped with a nuclear power plant was successfully carried out. The system for ensuring radiation safety functioned automatically before the satellite completed its work and entered the dense layers of the atmosphere. The reactor was shut down, and the nuclear power plant was separated from the satellite and put into a long-term orbit on the order of 720 km high. The time spent in this orbit guarantees that radioactivity will be reduced to a safe level. The rest of the satellite (the instrument compartment designed for studying the world ocean) burned up in the dense layers of the atmosphere and poses no radiation danger.

TASS observer N. Zheleznov asked Doctor of Technical Sciences G. Gryaznov to comment on that operation in space and on the development prospects for a new direction in power engineering.

As is known, Soviet scientists and specialists are pioneers in the development [razrabotka] of nuclear reactors for use in space, the scientist said. They created [sozdat] test bed reactors—the "Topaz" and "Romashka" converters of thermal energy into electricity, which combine within themselves a source of thermal energy (nuclear reactor) and devices which ensure the direct (nonmechanical) conversion of thermal energy into electricity (thermal emission converter or semiconductor thermoelectric generator). Subsequently the space nuclear power plants used on the Cosmos-series satellites were created [sozdat].

The creation [sozdaniye] of space nuclear power plants is a fundamentally new area of power engineering and a graphic example of the interdisciplinary nature of modern science and technology.

Problems of radiation safety, Prof G. Gryaznov emphasized, were painstakingly resolved during the discussion of the first projects for using nuclear power plants in space. The safety of nuclear power plants is fully guaranteed if they are operated in high orbits (800-900 km and above) with a ballistic existence time—that is, the time that elapses before they fall into the dense layers of the atmosphere—sufficient for radioactive products to decay to a safe level. But if nuclear power plants are designed for use in low orbits, safety is ensured by transferring the spent plant to a long-term orbit (of the order of 300 years), where radioactive materials are, in point of fact, buried after the satellite has fulfilled its program.

Following the well-known events involving Cosmos-954, a backup safety system was introduced to ensure radiation safety in the event of a failure of the system for switching from low orbits. I am referring to a system to disperse and scatter radioactive material down to finely divided particles during aerodynamic heating in the earth's atmosphere after the separation of the reactor core. The fallout of these particles onto the earth creates safe dose loads not in excess of the limits (0.5 rem over 1 year) recommended by the International Commission on Radiological Protection.

The operation of nuclear power plants in radiation-safe orbits opens up broad scope for the introduction of nuclear power on spacecraft with a national economic purpose.

Nuclear power plants can play an important role on interplanetary flights. According to the assessments of Soviet specialists, a multimegawatt nuclear plant can create the necessary jet thrust for a spacecraft on a flight to Mars.

Speaking about the conclusion of the Cosmos-1900 satellite's flight, the scientist emphasized the reliability of independent automatic systems to ensure safety—which removes to a considerable extent the hitherto existing

tension in questions of using nuclear power plants in low orbits. These systems meet the terms for ensuring safety recommended by the UN Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space.

Medics Prosecuted After AIDS Victim's Death

LD2510201988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1350 GMT 25 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, 25 Oct (TASS)—SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA writes today about the need to improve AIDS prevention and diagnostics in the USSR. The article was written after a victim died of this most dangerous disease of the century—the first AIDS-related death registered in the country. It was 29-year-old Olga Gayevskaya, a resident of Leningrad, who led a promiscuious life.

In connection with this, the newspaper criticizes the doctors who diagnosed various diseases without even suspecting AIDS. This invites a worrying thought: Was it really the first AIDS death in the country? The medics do not deny that it is possible that AIDS victims could be among those who died following "acute pneumonia," for example. After Gayevskaya died, the Leningrad Procuracy instituted criminal proceedings against doctors and charged them with negligence.

The newspaper reports that mandatory monitoring of all potential carriers of the disease—donors, pregnant women, and those belonging to the risk group—has been introduced in the USSR. According to the data published in the newspaper and provided by the Main Directorate of Quarantinable Infections of the USSR Ministry of Health, 412 AIDS virus carriers have been found in the country; they include 329 foreign citizens, mainly students. In compliance with the law, they all have left the country. Among Soviet citizens 83 virus carriers have been found to date. An examination of 9.8 million donors has been carried out, and the AIDS virus has been found in as few as 7 persons. Because only blood which has been tested for the AIDS virus is used for transfusions in the USSR, this channel of infection has been practically sealed off. Children born to infected mothers are also being monitored. The newspaper notes, however, that the situation with the risk group remains the most tense. Medics alone cannot either completely isolate or monitor that channel of infection. The newspaper also points to difficulties linked with monitoring those women who engage in prostituton and stresses that a whole number of measures are required to eradicate that social evil.

Military

Life of Military Advisers Described

PM2610124588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Oct 88 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Lieutenant General I. Novoseletskiy by Correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Markushin: "Soviet Military Advisers. They Were Rarely Mentioned in The Past"—date and place of interview not specified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] We have mostly found out about the people who fulfill this crucial international mission—that of military advisers—from memoirs. However, the editorial mailbag illustrates that many readers are interested in military advisers' past and present actions alike. It is becoming possible under conditions of glasnost to talk about this in more detail. In the future we will tackle this topic more frequently. We start today with a conversation between our correspondent and Lieutenant General I. Novoseletskiy. [passage omitted]

[Markushin] Clearly, it is extremely necessary for a military adviser to possess qualities that combine great competence with purely human traits, allowing people to sympathize with him.

[Novoseletskiy] That's right. It is especially necessary to bear in mind the fact that our work abroad is by no means easy. People often impede us, try to discredit our work, and sow mistrust in it. I mean above all the active attempts in this area on the part of U.S. leaders and their allies. These attempts mask the quite definite policy of counteracting our selfless aid to countries that need and have asked for such aid. Take, for instance, Afghanistan, Angola, and Ethiopia. In these countries our military advisers work under conditions where the national armies are waging hostilities against outside aggression or against internal counterrevolutionary forces and bandit units. In this connection they need a high level of vocational training, the ability to think in an original and bold fashion, the capability to tactfully suggest solutions when most needed, and a great many other things. Once again I want to stress that they must posses the sort of qualities that attract people and, as they say, inspire confidence. This is very important.

[Markushin] Consequently, candidates and their training need to be selected carefully?

[Novoseletskiy] Most strict demands are made when selecting candidates for assignment as military advisers. The main criteria here are as follows: A high level of vocational training, pretty substantial experience in working in relevant posts in the Soviet Armed Forces, high moral and ethical qualities, and a broad political outlook. I have had occasion in the performance of my duties to acquaint myself with the activity of our military advisers in situ, that is in the host countries (Angola and Syria, for instance). Thus the military-political leadership in these countries speaks gratefully above all of our comrades' selflessness, their professionalism, and their ability to gain complete mutual understanding with national cadres when resolving the tasks with which they are faced. The state awards that have been conferred on many Soviet military advisers attest to this high assessment.

[Markushin] The specific nature of the tasks resolved by military advisers presumably also leaves its imprint on the style of work. What should be deemed particularly important here?

[Novoseletskiy] I would regard as most important our military advisers' ability to maintain very active and close business contacts with the representatives of his

host country. It is this quality that helps him to work successfully in any area, be it organizing combat operations, preparing equipment, or instructing officer cadres. I must also mention our specialists' ability to learn themselves during the process of their activity as advisers. The point is that the national experience of our friends contains many valuable elements of which we are simply unaware. So it is necessary not only to be able to talk but also to be able to listen. This sort of contact also produces results. The positive experience that has been accumulated, for instance, in Afghanistan confirms this. We can also name our best comrades here: Colonel B. Kononchuk, adviser to an infantry division commander and chief of staff; Colonel A. Makatsariya, adviser to the deputy commander of an armored corps; Major A. Khaydarov, advisor to the battalion commander of an airborne troop assault brigade, and others.

Unfortunately, not everyone everywhere is able to organize fruitful contacts. Some of our comrades are somewhat at their wit's end in this respect and behave with constraint. Others, on the other hand, develop signs of arrogance (I represent a great power, I have graduated from an academy, and so on). Both adversely affect the successfulness of all their activity.

[Markushin] Contacts, conversations, and transfer of experience.... All this is linked to the language barrier....

[Novoseletskiy] Let me stress straightaway that when a military adviser can do without the help of an interpreter, a considerably greater effect is achieved. In such cases conversations are of a particularly confiding nature and can establish stable contacts. It is our great regret that only a few military advisers can speak the national or the official language in the countries in question, say French or English. We are clearly lagging in this sphere. Our country has held the matter of studying foreign languages to be unimportant. Clearly the time has come to change this situation. The time and the interests of cooperating with many countries necessitate this.

[Markushin] The conditions for military advisers' sojourn abroad are, evidently, far from normal. Cut off from the motherland, their friends, and families, a different climate and a different spiritual atmosphere. How far are our people's domestic and cultural needs satisfied?

[Novoseletskiy) There are no acute problems in this area. This is ensured on the basis of an accord with the government of the host country. Advisers are provided with good accommodations and, where possible, are given everything they need. Of course, it is more difficult for people occupied in a combat zone. Of course, they have to share all the difficulties and privations of service in the field. Let me say more. In this case military advisers' work puts them in mortal danger. There have even been cases where military advisers have died. Thus, Lieutenant Colonels V. Dideychuk, V. Kryuchkov, N. Bobrik, and A. Serikov died while performing their international duty in Afghanistan.

[Markushin] People in the West often accuse us of attempting to "export revolution," since they say that military advisers exert ideological pressure on their host countries. What can you say in this respect?

[Novoseletskiy] Our aid does not pursue any ideological aims. We don't foist our views on anyone. Of course, in the course of everyday activity and various contacts our friends find out more about the USSR and the Soviet people. Literature about our country is also in demand. Especially that devoted to restructuring and the current phase of our history. In circulating this literature, we are not undermining anyone's foundations and are not encroaching on anyone's interests. Thus, there can be no question of any "export of revolution."

[Markushin] Ivan Grigoryevich, one last question. Restructuring, which is gathering pace, encompasses all aspects of our life and activity. What can you say on this score with regard to military advisers?

[Novoseletskiy] All spheres of Soviet Armed Forces' activity are involved in restructuring. Military advisers are no exception. I must point out that we are persistently implementing the line of improving their work methods, enhancing the effectiveness of the aid offered to national military cadres, reducing the numerical strength of our allies' apparatus, and using less resources to fulfill all the tasks.